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NEW TIMES

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A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

GORBACHEV: ALL MUST ACT TOGETHER

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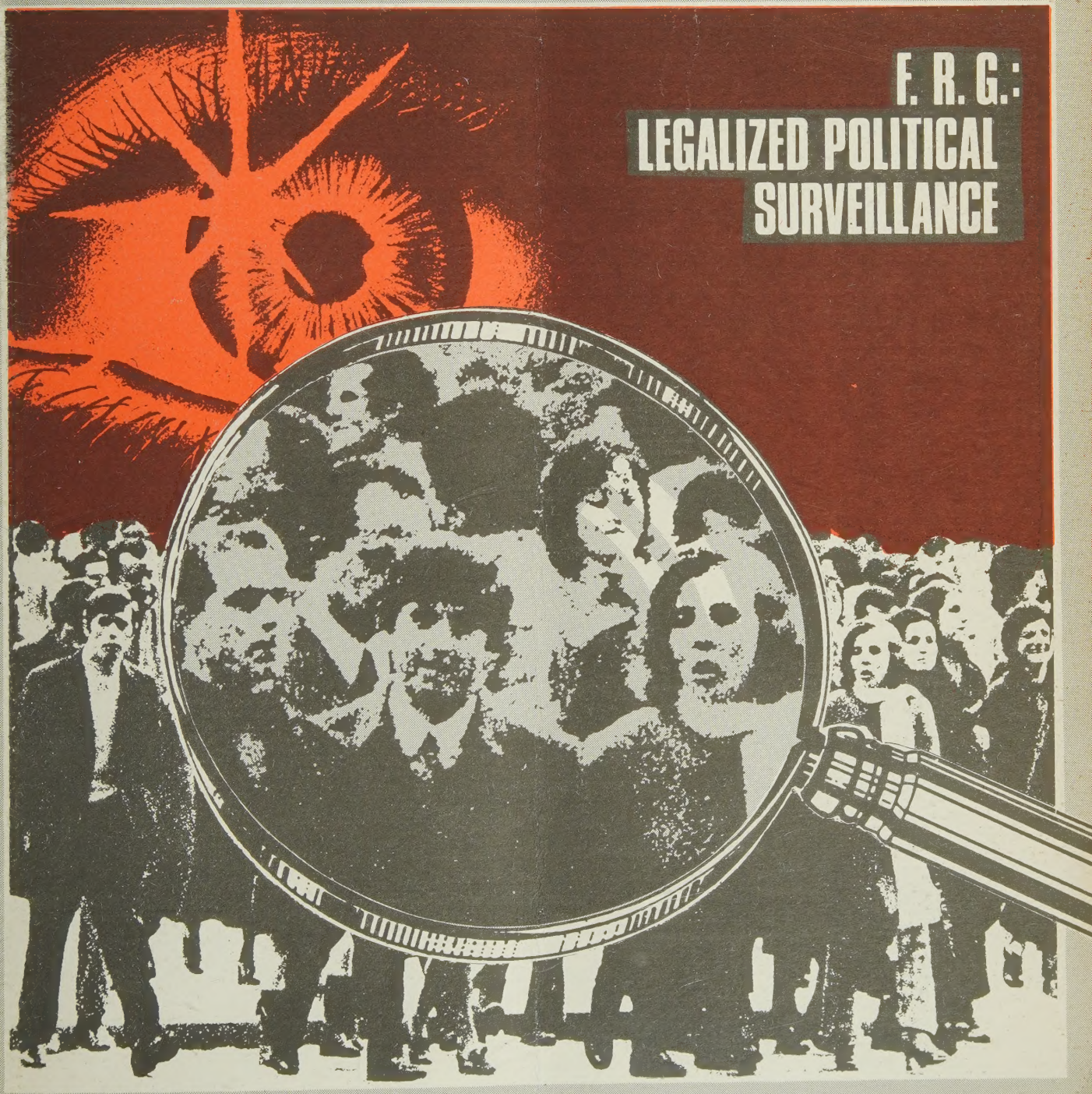

F. R. G.: LEGALIZED POLITICAL SURVEILLANCE

The 19th century made its debut and left the stage of history to the accompaniment of cannonades. It left behind ruins and devastation, hundreds of thousands of soldiers' graves, a host of bereaved and dispossessed families. Recall if only the Napoleonic campaigns and the savage punitive expeditions dispatched against national liberation and revolutionary movements in Hungary and Greece, Spain and Italy, Mexico and Algeria. Recall the Crimean War and the defeat of France by Prussia. These were the last convulsions of European feudalism and the first steps of the bourgeoisie that had grown out of its swaddling clothes.

However, the 19th century was also marked by the rise of a mass anti-war movement. The ideal of universal peace advanced by the foremost thinkers captured the minds of ever wider sections of society. A truly epochal event was the birth of scientific socialism which revealed the true causes of war and pointed the way—a long and difficult, but realistic way—to curb the forces battening on the people's blood.

In 1849 a momentous event took place—the first ever peace congress was held in Paris. It brought together in the French capital philosophers, politicians, publicists, public leaders and churchmen from all over the world. In a moving speech summing up the four days of lively discussion, the chairman of the congress, the great French novelist Victor Hugo, who is now rightly called the patriarch of the world peace movement, said: "Despite prejudices and enmity between peoples, you have planted in the minds of men the seed of world peace." And, as if anticipating our perception of peaceful development, he spoke of a time when "the only battlefield will be the markets open to commerce and minds open to ideas."

But however sincere they were, it was not yet given to Hugo and his followers to understand the class character of the clash of interests between governments. Consequently, the peace champions of the time could not see what class forces were capable of changing the course of history. The first to lay the blame for bloody interstate conflicts on the exploitative social system were Marx and Engels. In the Manifesto of the Communist Party (1848), that programme document of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat, they wrote: "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

Hence the inevitable conclusion that war can be prevented and lasting peace established among the nations only by limiting the omnipotence of capital in each country and in the world as a whole. This can be accomplished only by the working class, born in the depths of the capitalist society, enslaved by it, and vitally interested in emancipation from the fetters of exploitation, from the threat of being used as cannon fodder in the conflicts of the bourgeoisie.

The Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association (1864), written by Marx, called on the proletariat to watch the foreign policies of the governments and "to counteract them, if necessary, by all the means in their power." The fight for peace, Marx stressed, forms part of "the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes."

For earlier installments of our brief review of the history of anti-war ideas, see our issues Nos. 1, 4, 6 and 12.

TIME FOR RESPONSIBLE DECISIONS

In his TV talk CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev offered to meet with the U.S. President at an early date in any European capital with a view to reaching agreement on the termination of all nuclear tests. The Soviet leadership is convinced that the situation demands action without delay. There is still time to halt the nuclear arms race. And the ending of nuclear tests would be the first major step in this direction.

The U.S. Administration rejected the Soviet initiative out of hand. And it does not propose to call off the next nuclear explosion scheduled to be carried out in Nevada in mid-April. The Soviet Union's good example was lost on Washington.

The real reason for the refusal of the White House to join in the moratorium on nuclear tests and to open the way to their complete termination is not "preoccupation" with its own security, as is claimed in Washington, but the headlong pursuance of the mirage of military superiority over our country. At any rate, this is the appraisal given of Reagan's position by serious observers, the American included. Totally disregarding the interests of all mankind, and hence also the interests of their own peoples, Washington and its loyal Atlanticist armour-bearers are continuing to build up nuclear muscle.

We make no secret of the fact that the obstructionist stance of the U.S. ruling quarters cannot but disquiet Soviet public opinion. But it would be a great mistake to think that the Soviet Union and its friends and allies are losing their nerve, that they are falling into spineless pessimism. Moved by unfaltering political will, they are continuing to search for ways and means of bringing about a turn in the international process, of stopping the drift towards the brink of a thermonuclear conflict.

In the less than a month since the 27th Congress of the CPSU the Soviet Union has made no few concrete moves to translate the fundamental proposals advanced by the congress into common practice in international life. These moves include the set of measures aimed at making the Mediterranean a zone of peace; the proposal for a conference of the leaders of the five permanent members of the Security Council, which possess nuclear weapons and the means for their delivery, to discuss problems relating to the strengthening of peace and primarily the elimination of nuclear weapons; and the prolongation of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapon tests announced in August last year.

Being realists, we know that it is still a long way to the achievement of these objectives, that the stereotype pre-nuclear age thinking is still tenacious among many leaders of the imperialist powers. We also see the dangers contained in attempts to resolve the complex problems of the modern world by "shooting from the hip."

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union is determined to continue its peace offensive. Again and again it is demonstrating its readiness to seek mutually acceptable compromises for the sake of the achievement of the main objectives. But let no one interpret this readiness as a sign of weakness. As it has repeatedly declared, and as has been fully confirmed by life, our country is capable of responding and is responding adequately to all the threats emanating from imperialism.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are not alone in their steadily mounting peace offensive. They are backed by the world community, of which the United Nations Organization is the spokesman. The striving of the overwhelming majority of the members of the world organization for a guaranteed just peace found expression in the proclamation of 1986 as International Year of Peace.

The peoples can and must see to it that the International Year of Peace goes down in history as the year in which the creation of a comprehensive system of international security began, and that each of the remaining years of the century is a milestone on the way to the total elimination of nuclear weapons, to the removal of the threat of universal destruction.

"The Soviet Union," Mikhail Gorbachev said at a dinner given in honour of Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique and chairman of the Frelimo Party, "will continue its persevering and painstaking work to give effect to its comprehensive programme for preventing a thermonuclear catastrophe, for making the world a safe place to live in. And we know that in this high-minded effort the peoples of the world will be on our side."

FROM OUR MAILBAG

◆ Your country's very serious attitude and approach to extremely important international problems will help to preserve world peace in our very dangerous nuclear age. U.S. "star wars" plans must be opposed at all costs because they could create a very dangerous situation for every country.

Michael KONDRATIUK
Edmonton, Canada

◆ Not long ago, by decree of the President of the Italian Republic, a Gold Medal was awarded posthumously to your compatriot Nikolai Buyanov who died a hero's death in the summer of 1944, fighting side by side with the Italian partisans. Buyanov held back single-handed a German punitive detachment in Castelnuovo Sabbioni (Arezzo Province), enabling his fellow partisans—a force of about 60 men—to escape from enemy encirclement. I would like to see some articles in your journal about this hero and other Soviet people who fought in the ranks of the Italian Resistance.

Alfredo NANNI
Monzuno, Italy

◆ The Third World is passing through a period of "acute crisis of development" and a "crisis of confidence" in international economic relations. The economic shocks caused by the market economy and the destructive impact of the armaments race are closely interwoven with the growing domination of the transnational corporations in the economies of the developing countries. High interest rates have increased the outflow of capital from their economy. They are obliged to borrow more and more to pay the high interest rates on past debts, which, in turn, escalates the demand for new loans. Moreover a large part of the money borrowed from Western banks is used by many Third World countries to purchase arms in the West. The debt problem is closely intertwined with the problem of the arms race. The result is a sort of vicious circle that is highly detrimental to the interests of many Third World countries. The military imports lead to more debts which are paid for by what is termed "national asceticism," and this aggravates social tension which induces some governments to spend more money on arms. The logic of the transnationals is: "to afford to arm themselves, they must arm the world." This is one of the basic means by which the military-industrial establishment of the West is pumping out large amounts of the diminishing resources from the developing countries.

Vishnudatt NAGAR
Indore, India

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Associate Editors: L. Bezymensky, V. Chernyavsky, S. Golyakov, Y. Gudkov, A. Pin, B. Pishchik, V. Rubtsov, I. Trofimova, V. Tsoppi, D. Volsky.
Editor of English edition: **E. Smirnov**

CONTENTS

Time for Responsible Decisions (The Editor's Page) . . 1
Mikhail Gorbachev's March 29 Talk on Soviet Television 3
V. Travnicek—**Czechoslovakia: Programme of Action** . . 6
Panorama
D. Zgersky—**U.S.S.R.—Algeria: Moscow Visit.** V. Godyna—**Asian Security: Meeting in Ulan Bator.** Own Corr.—**F.R.G.: On the Easter Marches.** G. Sidorova—**U.S.A.: Singing Together of Peace.** Y. Bochkaryov—**South Africa: Despite Brutal Repression.** E. Kovalyov—**Italy: Frame-Up That Failed** 7
U.S.A.—Libya
D. Volsky—**Neoglobalism Self-Exposed** 10
E. Korshunov—**Who The Terrorists Are** 11
U.S.A.—Nicaragua: Seeking a Pretext for Invasion (Reports from Managua and New York) 12
K. Sorokin—**U.S.A.: Nuclear Lobbying Group** . . . 14
Ingvar Carlsson (People on the World Scene) . . . 15
Notes ◆ Remarks 16
A. Tolpegin—**It's Dangerous to Have Your Own Opinions** 18
Y. Gudkov—**Stockholm Conference: Before the Decisive Phase** 22
A. Krasikov—**Spain: The Fight Is Not Over** 24
S. Beglov—**Break the Old Stereotypes** (Book Review) 27
V. Iordansky—**Witchcraft in the Night...** (You Ask...) 28
O. Vakulovsky—**Taking Up a Point** 31
Postscript 32

Practically every adult citizen of the F.R.G. is under surveillance by special services which have electronic files on nearly 20 million persons. From these dossiers the F.R.G.'s McCarthyites draw "evidence" against persons holding views official Bonn considers dangerous. **(See page 18.)**

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MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S March 29 Talk on Soviet Television

Good evening, comrades,

I would like tonight to share my views with you on the situation that has developed over the Soviet Union's moratorium on nuclear tests.

Several days ago the United States carried out another nuclear explosion. It is clear to all of us that the timing was by no means accidental. The blast was staged on the eve of the ending of the Soviet Union's unilaterally declared moratorium. It was learned yesterday that within the next few days, in the immediate future, the United States intends to detonate yet another nuclear device.

Soviet people, just as people of good will everywhere, are incensed by these actions on the part of the United States. They write about this in their letters to the Party's Central Committee and request that an assessment be made of the obtaining situation. They ask how all this should be understood. What conclusions should be drawn from this? Why did the United States take such a step? How does our country's leadership intend to act in these circumstances?

We consider it our duty to reply to these requests. And this, in effect, is the reason for our meeting tonight.

I must tell you frankly that we regard the present actions of the U.S. Administration, which is continuing nuclear tests despite the insistent demands of the nations, as a demonstrative challenge to the Soviet Union, and not only to it, but to the whole world, to all peoples, the American people included.

At a time when whole mountains of inflammable nuclear material have been accumulated in the world

the question of stopping nuclear tests acquires tremendous importance. And this is understandable.

In the first place, ending nuclear tests is the most realistic way of bringing about an end to the arms race. Without such tests it is impossible either to modernize or to develop new types of nuclear arms. In short, if together with the United States and other nuclear powers we were to reach an accord on ending nuclear explosions, this would make it possible to get the entire process of nuclear disarmament off the ground.

Further, continued testing causes tremendous and perhaps not yet fully studied harm to nature, to the environment in which we all live. Do we not feel obliged to show concern for our own home? And not only for ourselves, but for our children and grandchildren?

And finally, in this difficult matter there is no need to start from scratch. A definite road has already been traversed and joint experience acquired: what I mean is that no tests in the atmosphere, under water and on land have been conducted for many years. And there have been no nuclear blasts in space.

It was with due account of precisely these circumstances and after thoroughly weighing all the pros and cons that eight months ago, on the 40th anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviet Union undertook an extremely important initiative by stopping all nuclear explosions both for military and peaceful purposes, and called on the United States of America and other nuclear states to follow its example and embark on the road of nuclear disarmament.

I have already had occasion to observe that in conditions of unabating tension in the international situation this was not a simple decision for us to take. In short, this step required both an awareness of the responsibility resting on the governments of nuclear powers and the necessary political will. In acting as it did the Soviet leadership had the mandate of its people who know the value of peace and sincerely strive for its preservation and consolidation, for cooperation with all nations.

Acting in this way, we proceeded from the deep conviction that the world in its development has entered a stage that calls for new approaches to the question of international security. Today, in the nuclear and space era, one cannot think in terms of the past. Everyone must finally realize that everything has radically changed. The issue now is not only preservation of peace but the very survival of mankind.

These were the motives behind our decision to announce a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

The initiative of the Soviet Union —I am immensely pleased to say this —has met with understanding and approval in the world. Our action has been highly appraised by the working people in all countries: Communists and Social Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives, Christians and Moslems, a multitude of public organizations, prominent political figures, scientists and cultural personalities, and millions of ordinary people.

How did the other side react? I mean the U.S. Administration.

In words, it stands for the elimination of nuclear weapons. It has made no few statements to that effect. But in actual fact, a gulf between words and practical policy is again manifest. The U.S. government has continued to conduct nuclear tests despite the call issued and the example set by the Soviet Union, despite persistent demands by the American people and the peoples of the whole world.

We pinned certain hopes on the Geneva meeting with the President of the United States of America and expected to reach agreement with him on this matter as well. As you may remember, reassuring statements were made there on both sides and jointly: that nuclear war must not be allowed to happen, that such a war cannot be won, that the sides would not seek nuclear superiority.

The results of the Geneva meeting prompted us to take yet another good-will step: to extend the moratorium until March 31 this year. Thereby we confirmed our responsible attitude towards the dialogue between the leaders of the two powers and hoped, of course, for reciprocal steps on the part of the U.S. Administration.

I think you will agree that our statement of January 15 this year, which outlined a definite and realistic programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons, is yet another illustration of our real intentions—to put an end to nuclear confrontation. In taking this step, we least of all thought of scoring extra propaganda "points," as journalists say in such cases, of outsmarting or outplaying the other side. We consider such an approach to the burning problems of present-day politics inadmissible. Our actions were motivated by our responsibility both to the Soviet people and to the other peoples, responsibility for the removal of the nuclear threat and for the preservation and strengthening of peace.

In February the leaders of six nonaligned states, expressing the dominant sentiment of world public opinion, urged the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States to refrain from nuclear explosions until the next Soviet-American meeting. We agreed to this.

It would have seemed natural for the U.S. Administration to support the Soviet Union's initiative by practical actions and to respond to the expectations of the peoples. And

in any case these actions would merely confirm its own statements made in Geneva. But that did not happen.

Everything shows that the United States ruling quarters have placed the narrow selfish interests of the military-industrial circles above the interests of all mankind and of their own people as well. The way all this is done is also quite important: pointedly, arrogantly and with utter disregard for the opinion of the world community. Without a sense of realism, without a sense of responsibility.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the U.S. ruling circles continue to place the emphasis on a militaristic line and are banking on force in order to dictate their will to other countries and peoples. In the process, statements are made for all to hear that this is the way they propose to influence the Soviet Union's policy as well.

What can one say on this score? Just that these are futile attempts. Positions of strength methods against our state have never succeeded and today they are simply ridiculous. The peoples of other countries are also more and more vigorously rejecting the policy of diktat in international relations. It is a policy that has outlived its time.

The Soviet political leadership is now faced with the far from simple question of how to react to such behaviour by the United States.

Our stand is clear. We believe that the world has now entered a period of responsible decisions. Yes, a period of responsible decisions. We will not deviate from the policy of preserving and strengthening peace which was conclusively confirmed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Fulfilling the will of the Soviet people, the Soviet state will continue to intensify efforts to ensure universal security. We will do this together with all countries and their peoples.

As to our unilateral moratorium, I may say that, as before, it is in effect until March 31, 1986. But even after that date, as was announced, we shall not conduct nuclear explosions if the United States does likewise. We are again giving the U.S. Administration a chance to take a responsible decision—to end nuclear explosions.

Failing which, the Soviet Union will resume testing. This should be perfectly clear. We regret it, but we will be forced to do so, since we cannot place our own security and that of our allies in jeopardy. I am saying all this so that there should be no misunderstandings on this issue.

At the same time I want to stress again and again that our main intention is to stop the nuclear arms race. The simplest, most explicit and effective step in that direction would be to put an end to nuclear explosions.

We have proposed that talks be started without delay on a total ban on nuclear weapons tests, including verification issues. All variants are acceptable to the Soviet Union—bilateral Soviet-American talks, tripartite talks with the participation of Britain, and multilateral talks within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

We have now come to the conclusion that the situation calls for immediate action. It is not too late to halt the nuclear arms race. A first major step in that direction is needed. An end to nuclear testing by all, and first of all by the Soviet Union and the United States as well as by the other nuclear powers, could be such a step. We attach tremendous importance to the resolving of this matter that affects the destiny of all peoples.

I am ready to meet President Reagan in the immediate future in London or Rome, or in any other European capital that will agree to receive us, in order to come to an agreement on this question. And I do not see any insurmountable obstacles to this —political, technical, or any other. What is needed is the necessary political will and understanding of our mutual responsibility. We propose meeting, exchanging views on this crucial problem and issuing instructions for the drafting of a relevant agreement.

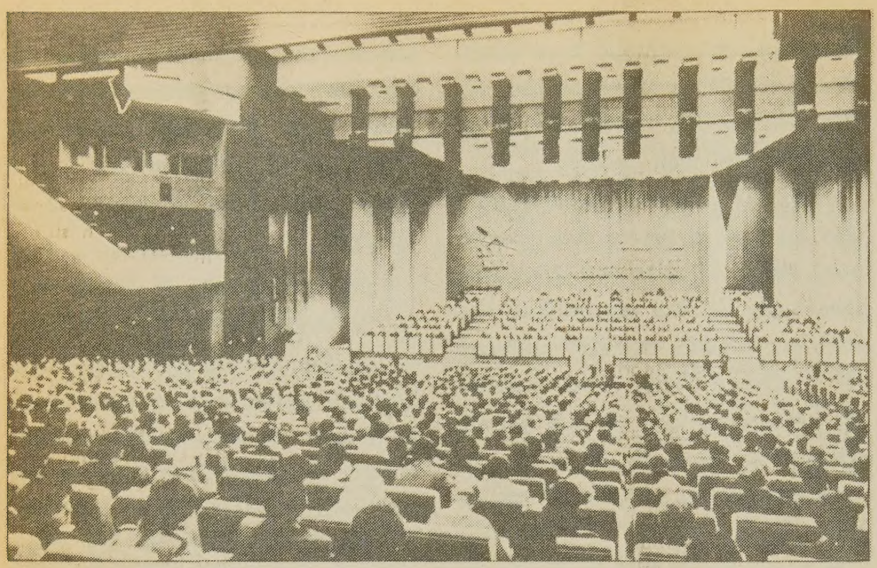
We hope that this proposal will be properly appraised and correctly understood by the President of the United States of America, by the governments of the countries of Europe and Asia, Africa and Latin America, of the whole world.

Time does not wait. On behalf of the Soviet people we call on the American people and its government, on the peoples and governments of all countries to work vigorously, by practical actions to make a ban on nuclear explosions the reality, an immutable norm of interstate relations.

Mankind has reached a point that requires the maximum of responsibility. The consequences of the nuclear arms race may become dangerously unpredictable. All must act together. This applies to everyone.

That is what I wanted to tell you, dear comrades, in this talk with you tonight.

Good evening to you all.



PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has ended in Prague in these spring days. It was with a sense of high responsibility to the country and the international revolutionary movement that the CPCz prepared for this major event in its life and in the life of society as a whole. The congress was to sum up the results of the work done and to map out the main directions for further social progress and the party's further activity. The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had a fruitful effect on the entire pre-congress period by its principled, creative and innovatory approach to the solution of key problems of today.

The political report of the Central Committee to the congress, delivered by General Secretary Gustav Husak, assessed the basic aspects of the progress of Czechoslovak society and analyzed shortcomings and mistakes. One of the key objectives of our home policy, he said, is the strengthening and further development of the socialist social order, the political system of socialism. Czechoslovakia's record since the early seventies has convincingly refuted predictions by anti-socialist and revisionist forces to the effect that the country would never recover from the crisis of the late sixties.

The country's achievements are impressive indeed: over the last 15 years the national income has increased by 81 per cent, industrial output by 97 per cent, and agricultural output by a third, which has helped make the country more self-sufficient in food. The total volume of foreign trade has nearly doubled, with the Soviet Union's share in Czechoslovakia's foreign trade turnover constituting 45 per cent. Dynamic economic progress has made it possible considerably to raise welfare standards for the Czechoslovak people. Personal consumption has grown by 44 per cent over the past 15 years. Public consumption has doubled. More than 1,800,000 families have moved into new flats.

These figures, unquestionably, are fairly high. But couldn't they have been higher still?

"There is no sector of the economy where untapped reserves have not been found, as participants in the pre-congress discussion justly pointed out," Gustav Husak told the congress. "There are still too many inconsistencies in administrative work, in personnel policy and in the implementation of resolutions. We should not turn a blind eye to this. Lack of criticism and principle leads to subjectivism, stagnation and loss of perspective. The bitter experience of the sixties showed what this can result in." This clear-cut stand taken by the Central Committee became the point of departure for all the deliberations at the congress.

The forum of the Czechoslovak Communists set the nation the objectives of accelerating socio-economic development and achieving a substantial increase in labour productivity and economic efficiency.

The programme for the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development raises complex but realistic tasks before the working people: it provides for an increase in the national income by over two thirds in 15 years and a simultaneous substantial reduction in material and power expenditure per unit of industrial output. Social labour productivity is to grow by nearly two thirds over the same period. In this way it will be possible to achieve other targets set for the current five-year-plan period and for the period up to 2000, to build up the resources necessary for the growth of personal consumption, increase the scale of housing construction, and offer more effective solutions to the problems involved in environmental protection.

The congress did more than formulate the main tasks in connection with the accelerated socio-economic development of the country. It also outlined ways and means of carrying them out. Much will depend on the extent of the intensification of the national economy based on the achievements of scientific and technological progress. The retooling of industry is the first priority. It is only thus that Czechoslovakia will be able to move towards a leading position in the industrialized world and effectively contribute to the strengthening of the positions of socialism in its peaceful contest with capitalism.

At the congress, Premier Lubomir Strougal dwelt on the main guidelines for the country's economic and social development in 1986-90 and in the period up to the year 2000. He pointed out that a decisive step must be taken in the eighth five-year-plan period, that of achieving an 18-19 per cent increase in the national income as the main indicator of its success. This increase is to come almost entirely from a rise in social labour productivity.

In this connection, the political report criticized the narrow, departmental approach taken to the adjustment of plans. The Central Committee is of the opinion that the national income can grow at an annual rate of 3.5 per cent at least. There are large reserves for this, considering that fixed assets are still used inadequately and that the material and power expenditure is still unduly high. The improvement of the entire system of management can produce the desired effect. "We must be more resolute in overcoming stereotypes, technological conservatism, inertia and habits formed by our extensive economic development, in bringing the psychology and work methods of people in line with the demands of our time," Gustav Husak stressed.

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in session in Prague's Palace of Culture.

TASS photo

Czechoslovakia regards the broadening of economic cooperation with other socialist countries as a factor for success in fulfilling its plans. Prime importance is attached to the fulfilment of the programme for long-term economic, scientific and technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. over the period up to the year 2000.

Addressing the congress, Mikhail Solomentsev, head of the CPSU delegation, had high praise for the effectiveness of our bilateral relations. Delegates applauded him when he said that existing relations between the CPSU and the CPCz are a graphic example of socialist internationalism.

"That is not to say," Mikhail Solomentsev pointed out, "that Soviet-Czechoslovak economic, scientific and technological cooperation has reached its limit. On the contrary, it is our shared conviction that we have vast reserves for the extension of our cooperation, above all of its most promising forms—specialization and coproduction."

Czechoslovak Communists highly assessed the contribution of Soviet foreign policy towards a peaceful future for mankind. Speaking of the Peace Programme adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, Gustav Husak stressed: "This is a concrete and effective programme aimed at delivering the world from nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, establishing lasting peaceful cooperation between nations and states with different social systems, and laying the foundations for a comprehensive international security system. This realistic, lucid and profoundly humane programme is a manifestation of the highest degree of responsibility for the fate of mankind. It has met with support on the part of progressive and peace-loving people the world over."

With the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, Czechoslovakia is persistently working to bring about a radical change for the better in the European and the international situation. This is the end envisaged in many joint initiatives by the socialist countries, including the proposals for a comprehensive international security system put forward by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states.

The socialist countries deem it their national and internationalist duty to uphold the vital interests of working people and promote the cause of peace. The 17th Congress manifestly reaffirmed that the home and foreign policies of Czechoslovakia contribute to the attainment of these high ideals.

V. TRAVNICEK
Czechoslovak journalist

Prague

PANORAMA

U.S.S.R.—ALGERIA

MOSCOW VISIT

At the end of last month the President of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic and General Secretary of the party of the National Liberation Front, Chadli Bendjedid, paid an official friendly visit to Moscow.

The visit coincided in time with the United States' armed provocation against Libya, a turn of events which caused the legitimate anxiety of Algeria, a country that neighbours on Libya and pursues an anti-imperialist policy.

The Mediterranean figured prominently in the Soviet-Algerian talks at summit level in Moscow. Mikhail Gorbachev informed Chadli Bendjedid of the Soviet view on the problem of security in that region and the question of making it a zone of stable peace and cooperation. He recalled the Soviet proposals aimed at extending agreed confidence-building measures to the Mediterranean. "We are prepared to go still further," he said at the dinner in honour of the distinguished guest. "If the United States, which is situated thousands of miles away from the Mediterranean, were to withdraw its fleet from there the Soviet Union would simultaneously do likewise."

Chadli Bendjedid, in his turn, observed that "evidently the lesson to be drawn from the present events is that the Mediterranean must become a zone of peace and cooperation." Both sides condemned the United States' act of aggression against Libya.

The Soviet-Algerian negotiations revealed an identity or approximation of views on a wide range of international issues, as can be seen from the joint Soviet-Algerian communiqué summing up the outcome of the talks. It emphasizes also the effectiveness of the existing mechanism of our bilateral relations in various fields—political, economic, scientific, cultural, and the like. At the same time, as Chadli Bendjedid pointed out, while the character and volume of Algerian-Soviet cooperation are satisfactory "not all the reserves here have been fully tapped and not all the possibilities exhausted." The Soviet side shares this opinion, as is reflected in the documents signed at the end of the visit: a long-term programme of economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation, a protocol on consultation and an agreement on economic and technical cooperation.

It may be confidently asserted that the visit of the Algerian leader to the U.S.S.R. was successful and fruitful for both sides. It gave a new impulse to the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Algerian peoples.

D. ZGERSKY

ASIAN SECURITY

MEETING IN ULAN BATOR

Representatives of the parliaments of Vietnam, Kampuchea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Laos, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union met at the end of March in Ulan Bator to examine pressing problems relating to peace and security in Asia and the Pacific.

The disquiet evinced by the parliamentarians from the six socialist countries is well grounded. The situation is still tense, even explosive, in many parts of this region. And wherever the smouldering seats of war danger may be, the fuses can be traced to Washington. The votaries of imperialist diktat and neoglobalist strategy are offering frenzied resistance to the peoples' striving for peaceful development.

Why should the countries of the Asian-Pacific region not join in a search for ways and means of resolving the conflict situations and arriving at solutions acceptable to all? A possible agenda for a regional meeting (such as the all-Asia forum proposed by the Soviet Union for an exchange of views and joint search for constructive solutions) already clearly suggests itself. It could include the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union for confidence-building measures in the Far East, by

Mongolia for the conclusion by the Asian and Pacific countries of a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force, and by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the removal of all kinds of nuclear weapons from South Korea and making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone, a zone of peace. There are also other initiatives that could be entered on the agenda.

To give effect to these initiatives, it is essential to begin already today to coordinate efforts towards the political settlement of the outstanding problems. The meeting in the Mongolian capital issued a call to all parliaments of Asian countries to join in this work.

V. GODYNA

F.R.G.

ON THE EASTER MARCHES

The latest Soviet initiatives advanced in General Secretary Gorbachev's TV appearance were the subject of lively discussion by the participants in the traditional Easter peace marches held all over the Federal Republic. Your correspondent talked to some of those who attended a rally in the Ruhr town of Essen on Sunday morning and asked what they thought of the new proposals.

"Gorbachev is quite right, in my opinion," said Hans-Gerd Grunwald, a miner. "The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to preserve peace and bring about disarmament. Most people in the F.R.G. want to see an end to nuclear testing."

Two women from the pacifist church organization, Pax Christi, told me that they wished, of course, that Washington would follow Moscow's example and join in the moratorium, but they had doubts about the good will of the Reagan Administration.

Support for the Soviet Union's stand on the question of nuclear testing and its plan for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons was voiced not only in Essen. The Soviet peace initiatives were the central theme of this year's Easter marches. Where some speakers formerly talked about the "equal responsibility of the two superpowers for the arms race," today no mention was made of this—the contrast between the American emphasis on the arms build-up and the Soviet peace policy is too striking. The significance of the Soviet initiatives was stressed by the organizers of the Easter marches when they were still in preparation. They demanded that the F.R.G. government too take a serious approach to the issue.

How did the Kohl cabinet reply to these demands? By signing an agreement on the terms of Bonn's participation in the SDI programme. On his return from Washington, Martin Bangemann, Minister of Economics, who had been instructed to negotiate with the Americans, tried to give assurances that the agreement was of a purely civilian nature. But the agreement was signed for the American side by the Secretary of Defence, besides which it was confidential. Moreover, it was signed behind the back of parliament, not to speak of the general public. Hence what is in question is a secret deal between Washington and Bonn on preparations for "star wars."

The Kohl government was mistaken if it hoped that the peace movement, being confronted with the fait accompli would surrender. F.R.G. participation in SDI remains on the agenda.

Hundreds of thousands of people took part in this year's peace marches. Protest demonstrations were held outside the U.S. military bases in Mutlangen, where Pershing 2s are sited, and in Hasselbach, where preparations are under way for the deployment of cruise missiles. On October 11 peace supporters from all parts of the F.R.G. will meet in Hasselbach in the biggest action of the anti-war movement this year.

Our Own Correspondent
Essen-Bonn

U.S.A.

SINGING TOGETHER OF PEACE

The little Russian girl Katyusha who went to the United States at the invitation of the Children As the Peacemakers organization, is already being recognized on the streets of American cities. The charming "peace emissary" from the U.S.S.R. has in the matter of a week won the hearts of American children and adults alike. In Houston she was proclaimed honorary citizen, and Marion Barry, the Mayor of Washington, declared March 26 "Katya Lycheva Day."

Katya's visit to an American school in Washington was quite an event. She and her little American friends sang together of peace. If mutual understanding between adults, and particularly between states, is not always easily achieved, here it was established quickly and smilingly.

A doll in the shape of a globe, wearing a broad smile and holding a dove of peace, was Katya's gift to President Reagan. We shall not try to guess whether or not she met the American leader just by chance, as the Western press maintains, in the corridors of the White House where she had been taken on an excursion. The important thing is that the President, accepting her gift and looking into the little girl's blue eyes, promised to do everything to preserve peace on our planet. He promised, but shortly after this unofficial talk he for some reason quite officially rejected the call from Moscow for a moratorium on nuclear tests. Yet how much Katya and all who on both sides of the ocean have been following her United States trip with interest and hope would like to hear a very different response from the U.S. President.

Katya Lycheva [left] visiting the Lyndon Johnson Manned Space Flight Centre.

AP-TASS photo

G. SIDOROVA

SOUTH AFRICA

DESPITE BRUTAL REPRESSION

With mass rallies and demonstrations South Africa's black majority paid tribute to the memory of the 69 who died in the brutal police massacre in Sharpeville on March 21, 1960. A crowd of 60,000 congregated in the Uitenhage ghetto in Cape Province while another 36,000 gathered for a meeting in Kwanobuhle. They sang patriotic songs, performed ritual dances, carried portraits of the imprisoned Nelson Mandela and chanted slogans of the African National Congress.

According to eyewitness reports, the police looked in silence at these "illegal assemblies," apparently reluctant to clash with such vast numbers of people. However, that night there were bloody conflicts in many black townships and these continued throughout the next few days causing numerous casualties. On March 26 Reuters reported that at least 27 persons had been killed over the past 24 hours. This was one of the most tragic days since February 1984, the start of what Western reporters have called "black uprising against white rule."

There was also unrest at gold mines late last month. Blyvooruitzisht miners struck: though 1,500 went underground, they refused to pick up their tools, while 7,000 more did not report for work. The police took cruel repressive action in which six miners were killed and another 216 wounded; a further 40 "ringleaders" were detained and workers who refused to call off the strike were sacked.

What provoked the strike was not only the extremely arduous working conditions. A spokesman for the mine administration admitted that the action was a "reflection of the extent to which political feelings are running high." This means that the miners were striking against apartheid which is responsible for their merciless exploitation. Such feelings are common among South Africa's black labourers. At a Cape Town rally Elijah Barayi, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions set up last year, said the workers would support the youth of South Africa "by doing battle if necessary" with the security forces.

The anti-racist unrest in the bantustan concentrations of the black population is developing into a new aspect of the mounting movement against apartheid. Such unrest is to be observed even in bantustans granted "independence," as, for instance, in Bophuthatswana, where police fired on a crowd of blacks killing seven and injuring many more. Last month South African punitive forces killed more than 135 people. Despite these cruel reprisals the people of South Africa are determined to struggle against apartheid until it is abolished.

Y. BOCHKARYOV

ITALY

FRAME-UP THAT FAILED

Sergei Antonov has been released after having been held in custody for 40 months on the trumped-up charge of complicity, with two of his compatriots, Jelyo Vasilev and Todor Aivazov, in the attempt by the Turkish neofascist Ali Mehmet Agca on May 13, 1981, to assassinate Pope John Paul II. On March 29, faced with obvious facts, the Italian court acquitted all three Bulgarians falsely accused by Agca.

The acquittal came 10 months and two days after the trial began. Throughout the 97 court sessions not a single shred of evidence was produced to support Agca's slanderous allegations. None of the 57 witnesses from eight countries who appeared in court confirmed the Turkish terrorist's fantastic claims. On the other hand, 123 instances of downright false testimony given by Agca are registered in the records of the trial.

And so the frame-up failed. The trumped-up charges were totally disproved. The judges and jury had no choice but to admit that the case against the Bulgarian citizens was a fabrication.

At the same time in the course of the proceedings no little evidence came to light indicating that the notorious "Bulgarian connection" had been invented by the reactionary political quarters of imperialist powers and Western intelligence services, primarily the CIA and Italian covert services, with the participation of the mafia and the neofascists.

The anti-Bulgarian, anti-socialist, anti-communist version of the attempt on the Pope's life was a complete debacle. But instead of honestly admitting the obvious, the Italian judicial authorities made what they obviously believed to be an ingenious move: the innocent Bulgarians were acquitted "for lack of sufficient evidence." This formula is clearly designed to cast a shadow of suspicion on Antonov, Vasilev and Aivazov in case it might come in handy some time in the future. The investigator Ilario Martella, who concocted the indictment, has started another—the third—investigation into the attempt on the Pope's life.

The whole "Antonov case" held no water from the very outset. There were no grounds whatever for indicting Antonov and his compatriots. By the same token anyone could be picked up on the street and accused of a crime he has nothing to do with and then released later for "lack of evidence" of his guilt. What the sentence ought to have made clear is that the Bulgarians were not guilty of the crime they were charged with committing, that they had nothing whatever to do with the attempted assassination of the Pope.

The partiality, breach of civil liberties and human rights by the Italian authorities were manifested also in what happened after Antonov was released. In violation of the right of freedom of movement, attempts were made to delay his departure from Italy for home on the grounds that the appeal filed against the sentence in its present form had not yet been heard.

Thus, though acquitted by a court decision, his movements were again restricted on the strength of an offence of which he was found not guilty.

E. KOVALYOV

NEOGLOBALISM SELF-EXPOSED

DMITRY VOLSKY

Most aggressive adventures are prepared in secret. But this was not the case with the adventure in the Gulf of Sidra: it could have been foreseen long in advance. Washington openly, even demonstratively prepared to provoke an armed clash with Libya there. Moreover, it was in a hurry. The impatience of the U.S. policy makers grew hourly. At a weekly White House luncheon in late March presidential National Security Adviser Admiral John Poindexter—the man who organized the invasion of Grenada—repeatedly left the table to pick up for the President the latest reports of the movement of U.S. warships in the Mediterranean. As if it were a sporting event!

But the Mediterranean is not a water-polo pool and it is quite out of place to take a scoreboard approach to what happened there, as some Western press commentators are now doing.

On board the U.S. aircraft carrier Saratoga, which was involved in the armed provocation off the Libyan coast.

Reuter-TASS photo

All the more so since the American and Libyan information sources are widely at variance. The important thing is the political outcome of this act of aggression. But to assess it, the purpose of the Washington action must be borne in mind.

The official explanation, that it was a matter of punishing the Gaddafi regime for supporting terrorism, is patently false. If anyone has any doubts on this score, they will be dispelled by the facts given on these pages. The State Department's assurances that the U.S. was upholding the "freedom of navigation" can hardly be taken seriously. It is ludicrous, to say the least.

It will be closer to the truth to say that Washington sees in Libya, as in Nicaragua, the embodiment of what is most hateful of all to the present rulers of America—the striving of Third World peoples for genuine independence, their refusal to submit to imperialist diktat. Although the United States is remote from Libya, it lost at one time a good deal in that country. For instance, Wheelus Field, once the biggest military base in the Middle East. The present writer remembers the long wall topped with broken bottles that surrounded this base, and the American flyers and navymen who filled the Italian shops and trattorias in the centre of Tripoli, where the local Arabs looked like uninvited guests. Even television in Libya in King Idris' time was confined to one American channel: educational and propaganda films made to Pentagon order were broadcast from the territory of the U.S. base.

Needless to say, Washington would like to see a return to something of this order. And so it seized upon a moment when the Gaddafi government, according to an American ABC TV commentator, found itself in a difficult situation. There was trouble on Libya's southern frontiers owing to the recent aggravation of the conflict in Chad, where French airborne troops had again been dispatched and the pro-Western Habré regime has received additional American aid. There was also tension on the frontier with Egypt. In particular, because of the recent reports that NATO manoeuvres were to be held in the area. Lastly, Libya's finances have been hit by the drop in world oil prices.

By dispatching its Sixth Fleet against Libya at this very time, the U.S. wanted to set off a "chain reaction" to undermine the Libyan regime. But it proved to be a miscalculation. More, as the ABC commentator had to admit, the conflict resulted in a propaganda victory for Gaddafi both in his own country and throughout the Arab world.

This is the regional aspect of the matter. But it is not the most important aspect. President Reagan himself has said that Washington wanted to demonstrate by its anti-Libya action its ability to uphold the interests of the "free world." This cold-war thinking and cold-war vocabulary are indicative; who is threatening the "free world," and how, is not specified, yet its "interests," it appears, had to be "defended" in the Gulf of Sidra. Clearly, then, the U.S. Administration pursued global aims in embarking on this adventure. Primarily, in regard to the developing countries, which had to be shown how dangerous it is to pursue an independent policy. The "message" was intended also for distant Nicaragua, at whose frontiers with Honduras at this very time (again by "coincidence") another large-scale provocation was engineered. Lastly, one cannot but detect in these events the echo of the underground nuclear explosion in Nevada which was Washington's provocative reply to the Soviet moratorium.

The design of the U.S. Administration was revealed by the New York Times news analyst Leslie Gelb. From his

FLASHBACK

At the beginning of the 19th century, in 1801, to be precise, a squadron of warships flying the Stars and Stripes made its appearance in the Mediterranean, off the coast of Libya (then known as Tripolitania). What had brought it all the way from the United States! The American frigates had sailed the Atlantic under the pretext of fighting pirates (today it's "terrorists").

What in fact attracted the United States to North Africa was above all an extremely profitable traffic in opium. American merchants purchased opium in Izmir and other cities of the Ottoman Empire and shipped it to China by way

article it can be seen that those are right who have always held that the U.S. arms buildup is needed not to preserve the Soviet-American balance of strength, but to tip that balance in favour of Washington, so that it might be able to act everywhere more freely and more vigorously. It was this "vigour" that was demonstrated in the Gulf of Sidra and on the Nicaraguan-Honduran frontier. True, Gelb quotes a high-placed State Department official as saying, it is "more inclination and philosophy than strategy"—it has not been thought out to the end.

Nor can it be thought out to the end, it should be added. For what is in question is not sober calculation, but illusory wishful thinking that ignores the realities. Including such a reality as the Soviet Union's influence in the Third World. According to Gelb, the U.S. sallies were a "message" to Libya and Nicaragua that "Moscow cannot be counted upon to back them up." Yet, after the U.S. act of aggression Tripoli underscored in the most cordial terms the importance of solidarity on the part of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, who supported the Pentagon's anti-Libyan adventure? In effect, only Israel, moreover, not without ulterior motives, but with an eye to getting the green light for another bombing attack on Palestinian camps in South Lebanon. As regards the United States' West European allies, they do not conceal their embarrassment at Washington's action. Italy, which is situated closest of all to the Gulf of Sidra, found it necessary, contrary to "Atlanticist tradition," openly to criticize its senior partner. In Canada too the Pentagon action was regarded as an alarming precedent; the Canadian press pointed to the brazen way in which U.S. warships cruise off Canada's coasts.

Or take the reaction in America itself. The massive anti-Libyan propaganda has, regrettably, left its imprint. However, it is indicative that the president of the World Watch organization, Lester Brown, for instance, has voiced apprehensions that if Washington intends to continue to stage such costly demonstrations of its muscle it will have to drop the idea of re-establishing its economic leadership in the Western world.

And the same can be said of its political role. Not only because the U.S. has again discredited itself morally. Indeed, what is the lesson to be drawn from the recent events? Above all, that in our time political aims can no longer be attained by means of aggression and military pressure. What is needed is a new thinking and not the outdated "philosophy" of conquistadors which is bound to recoil on those who cling to it.

WHO THE TERRORISTS ARE

EVGENY KORSHUNOV

"The Libyan colonel was obviously a threat on the international plane. It was high time to remove him."

One might think that this comes from some recent statement made by a U.S. Administration spokesman in connection with the latest brigand attack of the U.S. Sixth Fleet on sovereign Libya. But this is not the case, even though today too Washington levels similar threats against Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi.

The quotation actually comes from the book "The Hilton Assignment" written by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville and published in 1973. The authors describe one of the first terrorist operations planned by Western covert services in February-March 1971 with a view to overthrowing the Libyan regime unacceptable to them.

I had occasion to visit Libya in November 1971, nearly two years after a group of young officers led by Muammar Gaddafi had toppled the moribund regime of King Idris.

At that time the principal cities, Tripoli and Benghazi, still bore the traces of September 1969. On house walls there were revolutionary slogans and next to them large caricatures of the former rulers and their bosses, the U.S. oil monopolies. Particularly common were drawings depicting a fat, round-headed and short-legged man hanging from the gallows with the inscription, "Death to Omar Shelhi!"

I was shown around Tripoli by a young Information Ministry official.

"That's Hilton Hotel," he said with irony, pointing to the grim fortress walls of the city prison built in the thirties by the Italian fascists, who at that time occupied Libya. "Its 'guests' now are those who plundered us in league with Idris and his favourite Omar Shelhi. Shelhi himself took to his heels, otherwise that's what would have happened to him...." He pointed to one of the above-mentioned caricatures on the fortress wall.

Under the monarchy Omar Shelhi was the virtual ruler of Libya and treated the

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of the Mediterranean, past the Tripolitanian coast. By the early 19th century, American traders were taking 4-5 tons of this narcotic a year to China, poisoning millions of Chinese and making millions of dollars in profit.

The American opium trade largely depended for its success on the position of the North African countries. American merchantmen called at their ports for supplies of fresh water and food and the rulers of these countries regarded it as normal practice to collect duty from ships carrying Turkish opium through their territorial waters. The Americans did not want to share their profits with anyone, however. Hence the arrival of the U.S. warships in the Mediterranean for the professed purpose of "fighting pirates."

By 1805 American admirals and diplomats had unleashed a full-scale war against Tripolitania. Its capital, Tripoli, was blocked by a U.S. squadron. The American consuls in Tunis and Tripoli were busy preparing, with President Jefferson's knowledge, a coup d'état in Tripolitania in order to install their puppet in power there and, at the same time, setting the scene for an armed invasion of the country.

In a letter to a U.S. cabinet member dated February 13, 1805, William Eaton, the American consul in Tunis, suggested that Cyrenaica, Tripolitania's eastern province, be captured first and that the capital Tripoli be stormed next using an army of mercenaries recruited in Egypt from amongst all sorts of adventurers (one recalls today's "soldiers of fortune" in this connection). Eaton urged naval gunfire support for the operation and the landing of the Marines. To the thunder of gunfire from the American squadron, the Marines seized the Libyan town of Derna and hoisted the American flag over its citadel. This act of brigandage rendered the storming of Tripoli unnecessary. Youssuf Karamanli, the ruler of Tripolitania, was compelled to sign an agreement humiliating to the Libyans.

These aggressive piratical attacks on Tripolitania have been immortalized in the first lines of the anthem of the U.S. Marines.

K. MASLOV

country as if it was his personal possession. During the first ten years of the Libyan oil boom alone he pocketed $25 million. Needless to say, the other members of the King's camarilla, who likewise "cooperated" with the imperialist oil monopolies, took care of their own pockets. Now they were in prison, while Omar Shelhi enjoyed a "well-earned vacation" touring European capitals. True, he did not stop at any of them for long and did not advertise his presence, for he was on confidential business.

Omar Shelhi was preparing the terrorist act against the young Libyan republic which two years later was described in general terms, though with many omissions and evasions, in the book "The Hilton Assignment." Shelhi put into motion millions upon millions of dollars to remove the young Libyan officer who "was obviously a threat on the international plane." A threat to whom? After all, Omar Shelhi was no more than an embezzler, though a big one. Yes, he bartered away the national wealth of the Libyan people to imperialist (mostly American) monopolies, but to describe the criminal proceedings hanging over him in Libya as a "threat on the international plane" was an obvious overstatement.

The book gives a detailed account of the operation for freeing Shelhi's accomplices from the Tripoli prison (as the initial phase of the coup) and paints with ill-concealed admiration the pictures of the chief executors of the plan, such as the veteran British intelligence agents David Stirling and James Kent, who believed that a "resolute and courageous" individual could determine not only his own fate, but the fate of a nation. The authors of the book, however, "forget" to say that behind the operation there were forces far more formidable than the embezzler Omar Shelhi. Only in passing do they mention that one of the conspirators, Steve Reynolds, former officer of the South African Navy and, it may be assumed, an agent of the South African intelligence service which collaborated closely with the CIA, told Stirling and Kent that Operation Hilton had been endorsed by the CIA and British intelligence.

The publication of "The Hilton Assignment" with its detailed account of the carefully planned abortive conspiracy against Libya was intended to be a clear warning for Gaddafi. On the other hand, it was an instrument of psychological terror against the Libyan people. But, as subsequent events showed, the imperialist terror tactics, in which Zionism also joined, were not limited to the psychological sphere. According to the Washington Post, the CIA was planning the assassination of Gaddafi. In 1981 Washington expelled the Libyan diplomats from the U.S. and broke off diplomatic relations with Libya.

In March 1981, the U.S. Sixth Fleet shot down two Libyan aircraft over the Gulf of Sidra, in the very same area where it was to make a brigand strike on Libya five years later, in March 1986. In November 1982, the Pentagon staged naval exercises in the Southern Mediterranean to rehearse an invasion of Libya. From January to March this year five such exercises were held, each one on a bigger scale than the previous. All told, since 1981, 18 such manoeuvres have been held. On January 7 this year President Reagan announced an economic blockade of Libya.

Violence and threats against Libya have long been standard practice on the part not only of the U.S., but also of Israel. On February 21, 1973, Israeli aircraft shot down a Libyan Boeing-727 which had strayed a few kilometres off course because of a sand storm. On board the plane were scores of passengers, women and children included. In February this year Israel intercepted a Libyan airliner en route to Syria. As a pretext for the present anti-Libyan campaign, Washington and Tel Aviv chose the tragic events of December 27 last year at the Rome and Vienna airports, where groups of terrorists attacked the offices of the Israeli El Al airlines. The terrorists were alleged to have been sent by Libya. But even at the height of the anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab clamour some Western newspapers asked who gained by this act of provocation seized upon by Washington and Tel Aviv.

This question was answered by a New York Times correspondent in his dispatch from Israel. He wrote about Tel Aviv's striving to capitalize on the diplomatic and propaganda advantages provided by the latest eruption of "Palestinian terrorism." As regards "Palestinian terrorism," the usually well-informed French journalist Amnon Kapeliouk, commenting in Le Monde Diplomatique on the tragic events at the Rome and Vienna airports, said there was evidence that the terrorist groups had been infiltrated by agents of several secret services. "It is easy to manipulate these terrorist groups since they are not accountable to any organization," he added.

Is this not food for thought? All the more so since a similar provocation with equally serious consequences was staged in London at the beginning of June 1982, when alleged "Palestinian terrorists" wounded the Israeli ambassador, which provided Tel Aviv with a pretext for the aggression against Lebanon that continues to this day. Now a similar pretext has been found for attacking Libya. ■

PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT AND WITHIN

The U.S. Senate has granted President Reagan's request to give the contras 100 million dollars to fight the Sandinista regime. However, this is not the only thing that aroused Nicaragua's indignation. "These debates are unlawful and immoral in themselves," President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua said. "The fact that the House of Representatives voted against the allocation of 100 million dollars does not make much difference because mercenary bands continue to kill Nicaraguans and to do damage to national property." "We are at war," the President pointed out and called on the people to defend the revolution.

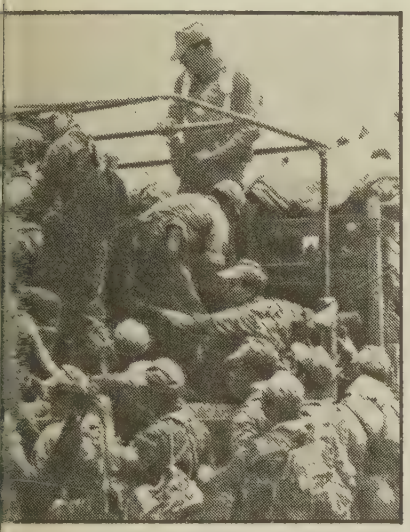
On the eve of the above-mentioned discussion in the U.S. Congress, the right-wing political parties not represented in the Nicaraguan National Assembly, and representatives from the Supreme Council of Private Enterprise (SCPE) took an unpatriotic stand. According to the Nicaraguan paper Nuevo Diario, the State Department circulated a document to all right-wing groups and SCPE members, calling on them to isolate the Nicaraguan revolution in the international arena and demanding that the Sandinistas enter into a dialogue with the contras. For its part, the SCPE compiled a document—intended to please the United States—blaming the Sandinistas for the difficulties Nicaragua has encountered at home.

The Nicaraguans, patriotic members of the clergy included, feel particularly strongly about church dignitaries, whose provocative actions serve to aid and abet the contras and fan the flames of conflict in Central America. In January Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, Archbishop of Managua, went to the United States for a noisy propaganda campaign against his country. He complained of alleged persecutions of the clergy by the Sandinistas and denied the fact that a dialogue had taken place between the government and the church.

Another priest, Bishop Pablo Vega of Chontales, also made a pilgrimage

EEKING A PRETEXT FOR INVASION

Nicaragua is in the focus of an increasingly frenzied clamour in the United tes. The latest eruption of hysteria was timed to coincide first with the considera- n by Congress of President Reagan's request for $100 million for the Nicara- an contras, and then with the aggravation of the situation on the Nicaraguan- nduran frontier at the end of March as a result of the bandit operations of the i-Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary scum armed by the CIA and based on the ritory of Honduras.



Honduran soldiers near the border of Nicaragua.
TASS photo

o Washington recently where he join- d the heads of counterrevolutionary roups in a seminar arranged by the mperialist reactionaries. At the semi- ar he accused the Sandinistas of all ortal sins and said the Nicaraguan hurch was out to secure the help of ne military in its effort to "liberate" the eople.

Many of the rank-and-file clergy ave condemned the actions of these holy fathers." Fernando Cardenal, Min- ter of Education, described Vega's ehaviour as a "new treason."

A group of nine Republican Con- ressmen, supporters of Reagan's line, ho paid a surprise visit to Managua mid-March, flaunted all international- accepted norms and rules during eir stay. Robert S. Walker (Republi- an, Pennsylvania) made a statement n behalf of the visitors in which he ctlessly repeated lies about the Nica- guan revolution in the Nicaraguans' wn country. The congressmen openly declared for military intervention in Nicaragua and the allocation of $100 million to the contras. Such pronouncements were denounced by other U.S. citizens—those who had come to Nicaragua to help. They gathered near Managua's Sandino airport to demonstrate against the Reagan Administration's preparations for aggression.

V. DOLGOV
Our Own Correspondent

Managua

JUSTIFIED PARALLEL

It is reported that, seizing on the flare-up of tension on the Nicaraguan-Honduran frontier, Washington has appropriated from its special funds $20 million for the Honduran regime. Why this generosity at a time when Americans are denied essential medical services and the working hours of libraries have been cut because of a "shortage of funds"? Why has the Honduran government had to admit in effect that the contras have bases on its territory, something it formerly categorically denied?

The answer to these questions was supplied recently by a former analyst for the CIA and expert on Latin American affairs, David McMichaels. After visiting areas where the Sandinista army is fighting bands financed by his former employer, he admitted that the Sandinistas had developed a successful military and political strategy that can counter whatever efforts the contras make. In his opinion, this spells the inevitable end of the contras.

Washington is out to prevent that end at all costs. Having pocketed the $20 million, spokesmen of the Honduran government concede that the clamour about a Nicaraguan invasion was raised by Reagan to extract from Congress the $100 million he has requested for direct military aid to the contras. It is hard to believe that U.S. political quarters do not see the connection between the White House handout to Honduras and the second vote to be taken shortly in the House of Representatives on the $100 million question.

Sober-minded Americans see a danger also in the fact that **American** fliers are piloting **American** helicopters airlifting Honduran troops to the Nicaraguan border. By means of this involvement the White House is out to accustom public opinion to the gradual expansion of U.S. participation in armed aggression against the Nicaraguan people. Commenting on the relevant White House statement, news analyst Lars Nelson observes: "Yes, the contras might need some trainers and perhaps some 'logistical support' in the form of helicopter airlifts. And then maybe some combat advisers, but no combat troops. Don't worry about it. No American boys will be needed, the President tells us, just as Lyndon Johnson told us in 1964," that is, on the eve of full-scale intervention in Vietnam. The parallel is justified. It is not by chance that deep concern over Washington's intentions has been voiced at numerous meetings held in the U.S. at the end of March.

There is, however, another aspect to the matter which points to the place these actions of the U.S. Administration occupy in the overall strategy of Washington. This aspect reveals the hypocrisy of the White House foreign policy strategists when they give assurances of their dedication to rational norms of international relations. "The Reagan Administration," the New York Guardian writes, "has in recent days sharply raised international tensions on three key fronts: in the Mediterranean a vast U.S. armada provoked an armed conflict with Libya, in Central America U.S. army helicopters prepared to ferry Honduran troops to the scene of a non-existent invasion by Nicaragua, and in the Nevada desert Washington staged a nuclear test meant to finish off the threat of a unilateral Soviet gesture towards disarmament." In this way, the paper stresses, the Administration has fully demonstrated how strong is its "resistance" to peace.

A. ARKHIPOV
Our Own Correspondent

New York

A considerable influence upon Washington's stance on nuclear testing is exercised by the Department of Energy

NUCLEAR LOBBYING GROUP

Originally called the Atom Energy Commission, the Department of Energy has from the outset been responsible for the development, testing and manufacture of nuclear warheads. The military aspect of the work of the department has come to predominate in recent years, with allocations on military-related activity increasing from $3 billion in 1980 to $7.4 billion in 1985, or from 25 per cent to 63 per cent of the total. This explains why the chiefs at the Department have always argued for a stronger U.S. nuclear potential, in terms both of quantity and quality, and have resisted any agreement with the Soviet Union that might slow down, let alone halt, the nuclear conveyer belt.

Efforts to ban nuclear weapon tests have encountered especially fierce opposition. The question first arose in the early 1950s because of the serious danger of environmental pollution as a result of nuclear tests in the atmosphere. The Soviet Union was the first nuclear power to declare that nuclear explosions for military purposes must be completely abandoned if general nuclear disarmament was to be achieved. This was stated in a package document submitted to the U.N. Committee on Disarmament on May 10, 1955. Appropriate proposals were also made at a summit meeting of the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain in July of the same year.

Washington took a negative stand and tried to push through the United Nations the idea that nuclear tests must be recorded, not banned. In 1957 Lewis Strauss, then chairman of the Atom Energy Commission, organized a meeting between President Eisenhower and physicists Ernest Lawrence, Mark Mills and Edward Teller, who excited the President's interest in the prospect of creating qualitatively new weapons (neutron in particular) and talked him into promising not to narrow the possibilities of research and development by restrictions on nuclear tests.

A new series of nuclear explosions was to be carried out in the United States in the beginning of 1958. But the March 31 decision of the Supreme Soviet on the termination of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests in the Soviet Union put Washington in a difficult position. To maintain credibility in the eyes of the world community, it agreed in October to start negotiations with the Soviet Union and Britain on the stopping of nuclear explosions for military purposes.

But the American delegation impeded progress at these negotiations by wheeling out the old argument that national technical means were not sufficient to verify the observance of a future agreement. Many "arguments" were supplied to the American delegation by experts from the Atom Energy Commission who claimed, for instance, that the Soviet Union could get round a test ban treaty by carrying out secret explosions in huge underground cavities or by passing them off as earthquakes. In view of this the United States insisted on an exorbitantly large number of inspections in areas of supposed violation and turned down the Soviet proposals on annual quotas for such inspections.

The coordinated and persistent efforts of the nuclear lobbying group led to a stalemate at the negotiations. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union's consistent stand on the question of banning tests, the support of world public opinion, and the active position of developing nations compelled the United States to sign, in August 1963, the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water.

But the chiefs of the Atom Energy Commission would not give up. In the course of debates on the ratification of the treaty they secured from Congress the right to hold a series of underground tests that would meet all the military needs of the United States.

Thanks to the exaggerated problem of verification the United States obstructed progress in achieving in the 1960s a complete ban on all tests. In the early '970s American diplomacy discovered a "new" aspect of the problem—the supposed ability of the Soviet Union to carry out secret nuclear explosions with a very low yield.

The "new" aspect was not a chance invention. The nuclear lobby felt that détente presented a direct threat to their interests. It was in the period of détente that the Soviet Union and the United States concluded treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and on underground explosions for peaceful purposes (with an agreed procedure of verification) which checked the arms race at least partially. But these treaties did not come in force, because they were not ratified by the United States.

President Carter, taking office, pledged to work for an early ban on tests for military purposes. The American-Soviet negotiations, started in 1977, were later joined by Britain. The broad international campaign forced Washington, in April 1978, to defer production of the neutron bomb.

The nuclear lobbying group sounded the alarm and resorted to a manoeuvre it had tried two decades before. Late in the summer of 1978, Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, Harold Agnew, director of the Los Alamos laboratory, and Roger Batzel, head of the Livermore laboratory, urged President Carter to authorize the continuation of work on third-generation nuclear weapons and get the framework of a future test ban treaty narrowed. The White House gave in, and the pace of negotiations slowed down. Nevertheless, some headway had been made by 1980.

The Republican Administration, which assumed office in 1981, conducted a dialogue with the Soviet Union from positions of strength. The securing of military superiority over the Soviet Union and of the ability to win a victory in any nuclear conflict was proclaimed the chief objective of U.S. military strategy The concepts of "limited" and "protracted" nuclear wars and of delivering a pre-emptive nuclear strike were developed further.

The material foundation for these dangerous plans was to be provided by the nuclear rearmament programme announced in the autumn of 1981 and by the Strategic Defence Initiative proclaimed in March 1983. The Department of Energy lost no time in joining in the implementation of these programmes. It argued for an extension of the arms race and against holding substantive talks with the Soviet Union. It was chiefly at the insistence of the Department of Energy that Washington broke off the

three-nation talks on the banning of nuclear tests and refused to reopen them in 1982.

The tasks now facing the Department of Energy are staggering indeed. At the beginning of 1984 the United States had 25,000 nuclear warheads of 26 types. Some 21,000 nuclear warheads are to be manufactured by 1988. In 1984 and 1985 the manufacture of eight new types of nuclear charges was started, and in the latter half of the 1980s four more types are to go into production. Fifteen types of warheads for the 1990s are at the blueprint stage. They are being developed by three laboratories at the Department of Energy. 1987 will see the completion of the eight-year $3.6 billion programme for their modernization.

The best-known project in the "star wars" programme is the development of a nuclear-pumped laser. The first test was carried out in late 1980, and at least six have been detonated since then, the latest on March 22 of this year. Some 800 nuclear explosions have been conducted in the United States since 1945.

The implementation of numerous nuclear programmes calls for a large quantity of fissionable material which is obtained primarily from discarded warheads. But latterly the recycled material has ceased to be sufficient, and the additional production of fissionable material has therefore been sharply increased. For instance, twice as much plutonium is produced now than in 1979. A sum of five million dollars was allotted in 1984 for the updating of the enriched uranium plant at Oak Ridge.

Large-scale plans of this kind—and their realization will ensure constantly growing funds and influence for the Department of Energy—in no way accord with the prospect of banning nuclear tests. "The cessation of tests," Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his January 15 statement, "would indeed close the channels for upgrading nuclear weapons." Without the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests "there would still remain the possibility of developing increasingly sophisticated and lethal nuclear weapons and trying out new types of these weapons at test ranges."

To justify its refusal to join in the moratorium, Washington still cites the difficulties involved in verification. But this claim is not supported today even by scientists working with the Department of Energy. H.E. De Witt, a physicist from the Livermore laboratory, has written, for instance, that "seismological detection is now good enough" and therefore "verification of ... nuclear test ban treaty is no longer a serious problem."

Indeed, the technical aspect is clear: the national means are quite sufficient to ensure a reliable verification of both the moratorium and the complete ban on nuclear testing. Furthermore, to enhance the effectiveness of verification, in which Moscow is no less interested than Washington, the Soviet Union is prepared to agree on an international system of control. It is also prepared to accept the proposal of the leaders of the six countries for the establishment in their territories of stations to monitor observance of a test ban treaty, provided this proposal is also accepted by the United States. Moreover, the Soviet Union has expressed its readiness—if the moratorium is joined by Washington—to agree with the United States on certain verification measures with the aid of international procedures and, if necessary, on-site inspection.

It is necessary, Moscow believes, to start without delay to elaborate an internationally binding nuclear test ban treaty by resuming or opening bilateral, trilateral or multilateral negotiations for this purpose, and without linking the test ban issue with any other issues. Moreover, Mikhail Gorbachev is ready to meet President Reagan in the immediate future in order to reach an agreement on the question of nuclear tests. There are no obstacles to this. Judging from its initial reaction, Washington does not want to join the moratorium or meet the Soviet leader on this question. As Mikhail Gorbachev said on March 29, the Soviet Union will not conduct nuclear explosions after March 31, provided the United States likewise refrains from testing. It cannot place its own security and that of its allies in jeopardy.

K. SOROKIN

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

INGVAR CARLSSON

Ingvar Carlsson, who became Prime Minister of Sweden after the assassination in Stockholm on February 28 of the outstanding statesman and political figure Olof Palme, was born on November 9, 1934, in Boras, in the family of a warehouseman. At the age of 12 he lost his father, the circumstances of whose death left a deep imprint on the boy's mind: he himself found the body on the grounds of the factory, where the death had gone unnoticed. He became interested in politics at an early age, joined the Social Democratic youth organization. His mother and elder brothers helped him to finish school and enroll at Lund University, where he studied political science. His political career began there, with his leadership of the Social Democratic association of student youth.

After graduating in 1958 with a master's degree in political science, Carlsson was invited to Stockholm to join the staff of the government chancellery. In 1960-61 he studied in the United States. On his return to Sweden, he headed the Social Democratic Youth League. In 1965 he was elected to the Riksdag (parliament), becoming its youngest deputy.

For many years Ingvar Carlsson worked in close association with Olof Palme and occupied several posts in the cabinet: in 1969-73 he was Minister of Education and Culture and in 1973-76, Minister of Housing Construction. During the period when his party was in the opposition, after the defeat in the 1976 elections, Carlsson engaged in parliamentary activity. When the Social Democrats returned to power in 1982, Carlsson was appointed Deputy Prime Minister for long-term planning, and in 1985, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Protection of the Environment.

On March 3 the leadership of the Social Democratic Labour Party endorsed Ingvar Carlsson's nomination as chairman of the party, and on March 12 parliament appointed him Prime Minister.

In his statements following his appointment as head of government, Carlsson stressed that Sweden's policy on international issues remained unchanged. He gave a high appraisal of the Soviet programme for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. "The new Soviet initiative in the field of disarmament outlined in CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev's statement," he said, "is evidence of the good will on the part of the U.S.S.R. and the desire of its people for peace."

Ingvar Carlsson's wife, Ingrid Melander (born in 1934), is a librarian by profession. They have two children.

FREEDOM OF MISINFORMATION

A very strange document, a presidential proclamation, was issued in Washington on March 15. It announced that March 16, birthday of James Madison, the 4th U.S. president, would be Freedom of Information Day. But as the President did not think one day enough for information to be really free, he urged the nation, specifically all employees of federal, state and local government, to dedicate a whole week to it "with appropriate programmes and activities."

Though we don't know for certain what "activities" were really undertaken to mark the first constitutional amendment, we do know for sure that the President himself made the biggest contribution. In an almost 3,000-word telecast on March 16 he tried to convince obstinate Congressmen of the mounting Sandinista threat to the U.S. and of the need to assign a mere $100 million to eliminate this grave danger.

The reader will forgive us for quoting him at length but one must realize what improper methods the White House incumbent uses to pull the wool over the eyes of voters and taxpayers.

He said: "Using Nicaragua as a base, the Soviets and Cubans can become the dominant power in the crucial corridor between North and South America. Established there, they will be in a position to threaten the Panama Canal, interdict all vital Caribbean Sea lines and, ultimately, move against Mexico." Should this occur, he contended, desperate Latin American peoples "would begin fleeing north into the cities of the southern United States, or to wherever some hope of freedom remained."

Apparently undecided as to how many of his TV viewers knew where Nicaragua is, the President indicated on the map the countries in Central America where weapons supposedly supplied by Nicaraguan Communists are found. He indicated Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and in South America and the Caribbean, also Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic. However, believing this inadequate to alarm his audience, he declared: "There was an old communist slogan that the Sandinistas have made clear they honour: the road to victory... goes through Mexico."

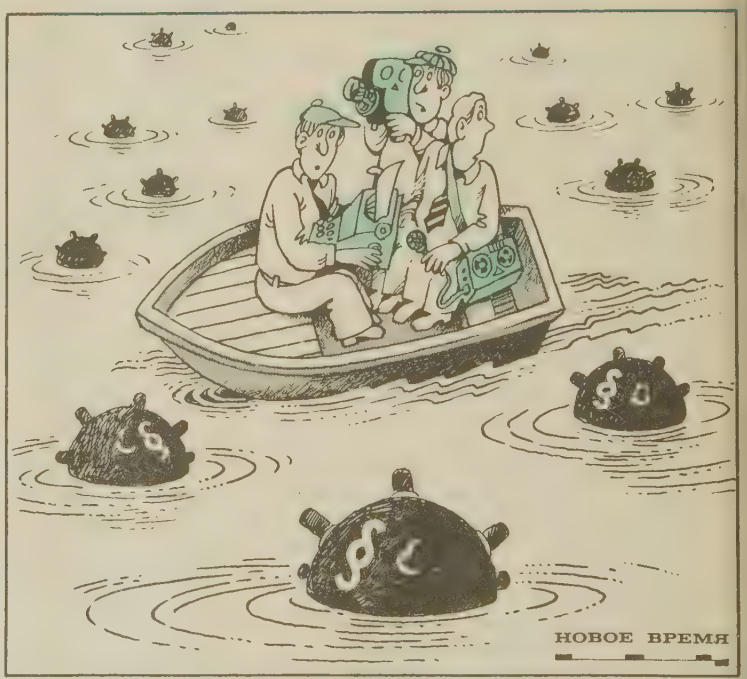
One prominent public opinion pollster in the U.S. said Reagan was a sort of national "coach." There are various types of coaches, some of whom go out onto the field themselves. Reagan, however, has showed himself to be a "coach" in misinformation and, further, that he is mustering his national team primarily by means of vicious fabrications. That even many Representatives, who refused to support his demand to allocate $100 million for the contras, have no intention of joining this team does not worry him much. There are far more objectors outside Capitol Hill as, for instance, was illustrated by a demonstration that same day outside the White House, where hundreds of Americans carried placards that read: "Feed the hungry, don't kill Nicaraguans!" and "The contras are criminals, not freedom fighters." In short, freedom of misinformation will not fool everyone.

B. BORISOV

FINANCIAL API

Islamabad has announced the conclusion of a new military-economic deal between Pakistan and the U.S. Given congressional endorsement, the U.S. will provide Pakistan, between 1987 and 1993, with $4 billion in aid, of which $1.7 billion will be for purely military purposes.

Such is the outcome of negotiations held first in Washington and subsequently in Islamabad, which a U.S. delegation led by U.S. Under-Secretary of State Schneider visited late last month. The six-year term of the 1981 $3.2 billion agreement is soon to expire and both sides seem to seek consolidation of the relationship. Early last month, Gen-



MINEFIELD

Who would dare claim that South Africa is a land of club-law! It has many laws. There is, for instance, the law on information. Almost every word that finds its way into the media is sure to be governed by one act or another. Lest newsmen overlook them, the laws are collected into special handbooks and circulated in editorial offices. Take the Internal Security Act designed to "regulate the activities of the political opposition," in other words, muffle every vehicle of dissidence. It strictly forbids newsmen to quote the opinions of opponents of apartheid. Anyone infringing this ban faces a three-year prison sentence. Recently Cape Times editor Tony Heard was charged under it as his paper

STRINGS

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rch the U.S. explain- erests" were implied. s of the U.S. Seventh the nuclear-powered er Enterprise enter- harbour. The Penta- sought to house in regional headquarters , the U.S. Central the Northwestern

The $4 billion are compensation likewise for broader military co-operation and Pakistan's commitment to the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. No wonder that in the interval between the two rounds of bilateral financial talks Islamabad ordered several high-powered acts of aggression against Afghanistan. Some 1,500 ground-to-ground missiles were fired on settlements in the Afghan province of Paktia, killing people and destroying houses.

Yet it looks as if Islamabad is none too happy with U.S. generosity. After all, Pakistan asked for far more. Then, for earlier military deliveries, it will have to fork out $2 billion over the next six years. Evidently the U.S. has decided to dose its "concern" for Pakistan and lead it by its financial apron strings wherever it wants it to go.

E. LVOV

General Zia ul-Haq with his troops. Another $1.7 billion for militarization.

From the magazine Far Eastern Economic Review (Hongkong)

THE KOHL AFFAIR

What do you have to do to make things happen? people ask exasperatedly in Bonn, confronted with the ruling elite's imperturbability in the face of the recurrent rows and scandals that beset them.

The Federal Chancellor is already facing the prospect of two prosecutions, one in Koblenz and one in Bonn, where investigations have been instigated against him by Otto Schily, a Bundestag deputy from the Green Party, in connection with his evidence in the Flick affair inquiry. According to the Hamburg Der Spiegel, Chancellor Kohl is accused "of having wilfully lied when giving evidence not under oath, of having abused his powers, and of abetting tax evasion in connection with party subsidies." He showed contempt for the parliament that elected him: when testifying before a parliamentary commission of inquiry in Bonn, he alluded to a faulty memory 79 times.

The Chancellor himself, however, claims that mud is being slung, and only recently CDU General Secretary Heiner Geissler said that the investigation against Kohl would shortly be discontinued for lack of evidence.

However, such wishful thinking has proved fruitless. The judiciary has reaffirmed that the investigation will continue at least till the end of April, while the prosecution in Bonn described Geissler's claims as "downright falsehood."

Oddly enough, Helmut Kohl's coalition partners have decided to keep away, with Bavarian CSU Chairman Franz Josef Strauss tersely asserting that he doesn't want to know. Doubtless, he has his reasons.

K. ISAKOV

"UNDESIRABLE"

She is Margaret Randall, 48, born in New York, and on the staff of the University of New Mexico. Among the books she has written are "Sandino's Daughter," "Cuban Women Now," and "The Spirit of the People." However, the director of the El Paso, Texas, Immigration and Nationalization Service claims her activities and work in support of the governments of "communist-dominated" Cuba, Vietnam, and Nicaragua give grounds for denying her the right to reside in the U.S.

The American authorities first blacklisted Randall in the early 1960s, when she condemned the CIA-run Bay of Pigs invasion. Subsequently she angrily indicted the napalming of Vietnamese villages by her American compatriots. For a long time she worked in Latin American countries trying to understand the changes taking place there. To qualify for a job in Mexico City, where she was gathering background material for her next book, she took out Mexican citizenship, and the U.S. embassy jumped at the chance to strip her of U.S. citizenship. When she returned home to be nearer to her elderly parents in Texas, she had to ask permission for the right to permanent residence in the U.S., which she was denied after much procrastination.

Together with several U.S. writers' organizations, the Centre for Constitutional Rights has protested the issue in the El Paso court. Writers such as Kurt Vonnegut, Norman Mailer, William Styron and Arthur Miller have come out in Margaret Randall's support. However, so far the judge is against as after what he called a detailed study of her books he has arrived at the view that they contain criticism of U.S. policies.

Meanwhile the authorities are seeking to expel Margaret Randall in accordance with the McCarran-Walter Act, dating from McCarthyite days which forbids entrance to "undesirable foreigners." Amongst their number the present Administration has already included Colombian writer Gabriel Marquez and the widow of the late Chilean President Salvador Allende. The list of "undesirables" is systematically being expanded.

G. ANOKHINA

ican National Congress ver Tambo.

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Y. KARAULOV

on by N. Shcherbakov

The witch-hunt goes on in the Bonn republic: the Bundestag has just passed the first three of a series of "internal security" laws that in effect dismantle civil rights. Total surveillance, spying and political harassment are becoming common practice

IT'S DANGEROUS TO HAVE YOUR OWN OPINIONS

From Our Own Correspondent
ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN

Last spring Kaiserslautern schoolteacher Wolfgang Jung was presented an honour certificate in recognition of his 25-year record of "faithful service to the common good." Soon afterwards, however, he was asked to return the certificate and was hauled to court. The complaint filed by the district authorities demanded his dismissal from the school for being "an active member of the German Communist Party."

The chief witness for the prosecution was Ernst Nisius, head of the local Department for Safeguarding the Constitution (BFV) in Rhineland-Palatinate. His testimony revealed that for 15 years Jung had been under surveillance by the department, whose records showed that the teacher had been a member of the Kaiserslautern Committee of Solidarity with Vietnam, the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation, and the local committee campaigning against discrimination in employment for political reasons (Berufsverbot)—organizations which, in the view of the secret political police, are "hostile to the Constitution."

The immediate pretext for the institution of legal proceedings against Jung was an anonymous letter received by the Rhineland-Palatinate BFV alleging that he had addressed a meeting sponsored by the German Communist Party. It was established that there had been no such meeting. Moreover, Jung had never addressed any meetings or taken part in any demonstrations, or conducted propaganda for the German Communist Party either in the classroom or outside it. The evidence against Jung was so flimsy that the court found no grounds for dismissing him from his teaching post. Nevertheless, he was ordered to pay a fine amounting to 15 per cent of his monthly earnings for three years as a reminder of his "misguided behaviour," as the court ruling put it. Besides, he had to pay the costs of the trial. He, of course, remains under the observation of the secret political police, and new entries will be added to his dossier.

So far Jung has been treated comparatively leniently. Many of his colleagues have been dismissed for similar "transgressions." All told, since 1972 when the prime ministers of the F.R.G. states adopted the notorious Decree on Radicals, some 10,000 citizens have suffered in one way or another from Berufsverbot and 3.5 million have been subjected to humiliating loyalty tests. Nearly every such "case" has been based on information collected by BFV sleuths.

Everyone Under Suspicion

It is officially maintained here that the idea of setting up an agency to "safeguard a free democratic order" originated with the authors of the Constitution of the F.R.G., who supposedly drew on the "bitter lessons" of recent German history. Actually, the department was set up on instructions from the occupation authorities of the three Western powers. In April 1949 the U.S., British and French military governors sent a letter to the parliamentary council which was drafting the Constitution of a separate state, authorizing the establishment of "an institution to collect and process information on subversive activity against the Federal Government." The reference was primarily to actions against the remilitarization of the F.R.G. and the restoration of the power of Big Business. The founding date of this institution is considered to be September 27, 1950, the day the relevant law went into force.

Former members of the SS and the Gestapo, many of whom operated under aliases, were enlisted as experts "in the defence of democracy." Now the "guardians of the Constitution" with a brownshirt past have already retired, but the traditions they implanted live to this day.

The department began with a staff of 75, but the number grew rapidly. In 1966 the personnel of its central office numbered 1,016, and its budget amounted to 29.9 million marks. Ten years later allocations for the department ran to 77.8 million marks and its personnel to 1,600. Besides, in the branches in the various states information on "nonconformists" supplied by 31,000 secret agents was processed by at least 3,700 officials.

In 1984 the federal budget allocation for the BFV already amounted to 178.5 million marks, which is an indication of the expansion of its network of informers. The central office in Cologne alone employs 2,200 experts in "safeguarding democracy." Its old quarters on Barthelstrasse are no longer big enough and "the most modern secret service building in the world" is now under construction with all speed in the Cologne suburb of Chorweiler and is due to be opened in June 1988. It will cost the taxpayers 220 million marks. The 12 hectares allotted the BFV allow for its expansion—the authorities evidently expect that before long the new building too will be too small.

The bulk of the enormous staff of the department is engaged in surveillance over the German Communist Party and other left organizations, which in the annual reports of the BFV are described "as hostile to the Constitution," although the Constitutional Court alone is legally authorized to decide which organiza-

tions fall in this category and which do not. But the fact that the "guardians of the Constitution" are themselves guilty of violating it does not seem to bother the Bonn authorities.

Deputies, Ministers

Its annual reports do not give a full picture of the scale of the department's sleuthing operations. These extend also to the peace movement, the trade unions, the Green Party and the Social Democrats—in short, all whose views the secret political police consider "dangerous." Neither Bundestag deputies nor cabinet ministers are exempt.

Here is one example of many. Former Bundestag deputy from the Green Party Joseph Fischer became Minister of the Environment in Hesse last December, after his party and the Social Democrats had concluded an agreement on cooperation in the state government. As a matter of course, on his appointment he had taken an oath of loyalty to the F.R.G Constitution. Nevertheless, he still is classified in the BFV computer memory banks as an "enemy of the Constitution."

That the Greens are also under surveillance was revealed by the testimony of BFV vice-president Stefan Pelny before a Bundestag committee investigating a counterintelligence blunder. Pelny told the committee that in December 1984 the BFV had received instructions from Carl-Dieter Spranger, state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, to submit a report on "left extremist influence" on the Green Party. The report was intended for CDU Bundestag deputy Jürgen-Gerhard Todenhöfer, notorious for his reactionary views. It contained information about Green Party deputies of the Bundestag, of the European and state parliaments, and members of the federal and local bodies of this party. Todenhöfer used the information to try to discredit the leaders of this opposition party. Later it transpired that CDU/CSU Bundestag floor leader Alfred Dregger had also asked the BFV for similar information.

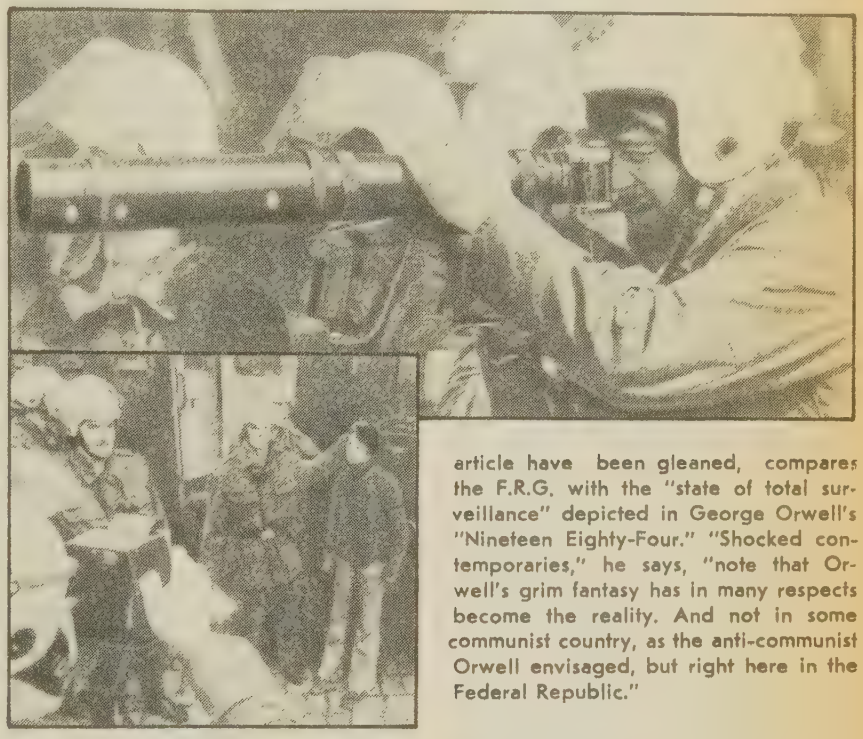
On the insistence of the opposition, which was angered by the CDU/CSU leaders using their ties with BFV for their own political purposes, Minister of the Interior Friedrich Zimmermann was asked to give an explanation at a committee hearing. The minister, however, saw nothing reprehensible in the actions of the department under his jurisdiction. Zimmermann told the committee that it was the BFV's task not only to keep an eye on "extremist organizations," but also to gather information on "their influence on non-extremist associations," including the democratic parties. In other words, any party, any organization could find itself under observation by the secret political police.

The Greens have been under surveillance ever since the party was founded. BFV agents attend press conferences of Green Party leaders and its congresses in the guise of newsmen. More, the political police seek to infiltrate its local organizations.

In the municipal elections in North Rhine-Westphalia in the autumn of 1984 one Dieter Hartmann was elected to a district council in Borken along with two other members of the Green Party. Hartmann's habit of poking his nose into everything aroused the suspicions of his colleagues. They made some inquiries about his background, turning among others to the Communists, from whom they learned that as far back as 1979 Hartmann had been expelled from the Communist Party branch in Essen for collaboration with the BFV. Later he moved to Bochum, where he again tried to join the Communist Party and the Association of Victims of Nazi Persecution —the Anti-Fascist Union. Naturally without success. Hartmann now moved to Borken where he succeeded in worming his way into the Green Party, from which eventually he was of course ignominiously expelled.

The BFV sleuths keep an eye also on Social Democratic Bundestag deputies. Stern magazine recently reported that the department has files on two former chairmen of the Young Socialists (the Social Democratic youth organization) who now are Bundestag deputies. The files contain their public statements and interviews. The suspect list includes also Erhard Eppler, a member of the Presidium of the SDP Board, who in 1981 addressed a meeting of peace supporters in Bonn.

The writer Fritz Seibert, from whose book "Sleuths, Falsifiers, Provocateurs" dealing with the methods employed by the BFV some of the facts cited in this article have been gleaned, compares the F.R.G. with the "state of total surveillance" depicted in George Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty-Four." "Shocked contemporaries," he says, "note that Orwell's grim fantasy has in many respects become the reality. And not in some communist country, as the anti-communist Orwell envisaged, but right here in the Federal Republic."



The citizens of the F.R.G. are caught in a web of total surveillance. The police photograph, overtly and covertly, participants in demonstrations.

The Surveillance Network

The Department for Safeguarding the Constitution is by no means the only institution that spies on the citizens of the F.R.G. This is done also by other secret services: the Military Counterintelligence (MAD), the Federal Intelligence Service (BND) as well as the Federal Frontier Guard and the police.

Founded in 1956 and with a staff of 2,300, the Military Counterintelligence has repeatedly been in the focus of sensational political scandals. The latest was connected with General Kiessling, who held the high post of deputy Supreme NATO Commander in Europe. When Kiessling's relations with his immediate superior, the U.S. General Bernard Rogers, became strained, counterintelligence concocted materials compromising the West German general, and Kiessling was retired. Later the charge of an "amoral mode of life" was found to be totally groundless. Kiessling was rehabilitated, but his post was already occupied by another general whom Rogers approved of.

MAD's official purpose—to protect the Bundeswehr from espionage and corruption—boils down in practice to surveillance of all democratic-minded servicemen. These citizens in uniform who take part in the peace movement are denied chances of promotion, subjected to disciplinary measures and even discharged from the army. Thus, the Berufsverbot operates in the Bundeswehr as well.

Young men called up for military service are put through a loyalty test by MAD. In 1982 alone more than 200,000 had to take such loyalty tests.

Military counterintelligence closely collaborates with BFV, which keeps it posted on "politically unreliable" draftees. And, vice versa, when a serviceman under observation by counterintelligence is discharged from the army, he goes under the surveillance of the "guardians of the Constitution." The two organizations exchange not only information but also agents. If a paid informer recruited by BFV is called up for military service, MAD assigns him to spying on his comrades.

Military intelligence operations extend beyond Bundeswehr barracks. Its agents keep tabs on all who, in their opinion, might have a "demoralizing" influence on servicemen. MAD has files on 50,000 citizens, among them people well known in the F.R.G. and beyond its bounds, like the writer Bernt Engelmann, the popular actor Dieter Hildebrandt, professor of rhetoric Walter Jens, and the late pastor Martin Niemöller.

The Federal Intelligence Service is formally engaged in information-gathering abroad. But it also spies within the country. At a session of a Bundestag committee, Gerhard Heuer, head of the internal security department of the Ministry of the Interior, confirmed that the BND had collected data on communist influence on the international organization Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, which recently was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Like the BFV, the intelligence service infiltrates progressive organizations. The Communist newspaper Unsere Zeit reported that a BND agent, posing as an employee of the Treasury, penetrated into the coordinating committee of the left-wing Democratic Socialist Party. Equipped with the most up-to-date devices, the intelligence service is charged also with opening and inspecting correspondence and telephone tapping. No less than 1.5 million letters are opened and read every year. When one picks up the telephone one can never be sure that someone is not listening in. It still remains a mystery how a West Berlin guttersheet gained possession of the verbatim of a confidential telephone conversation between the then Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and SDP General Secretary Peter Glotz in 1981.

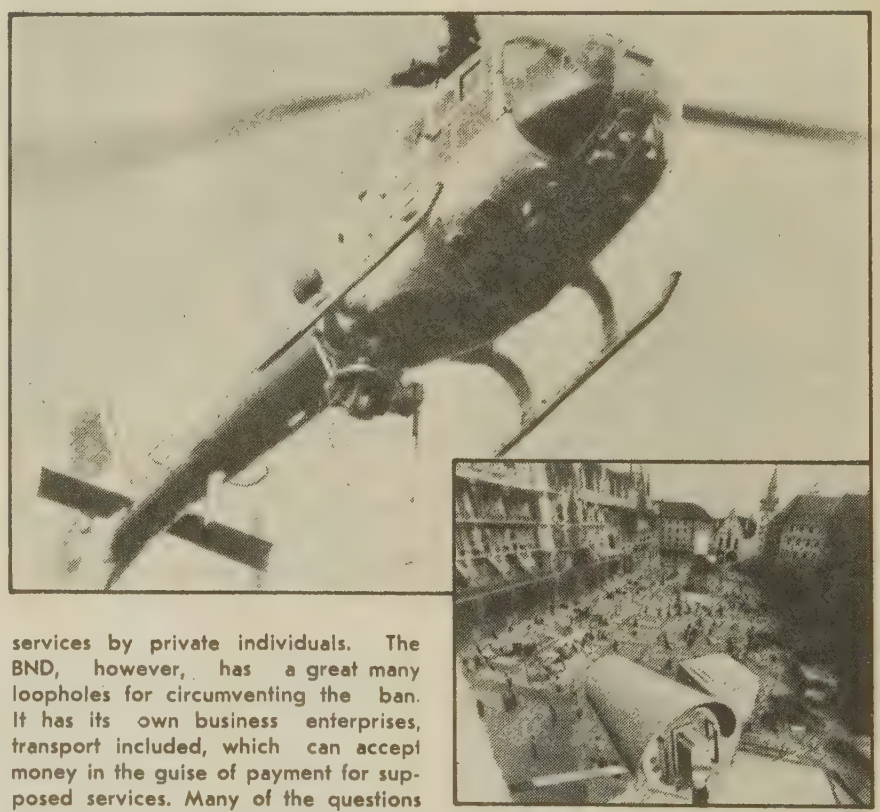
Serving the Monopolies

Last autumn Eberhard von Brauchitsch, former general manager of the Flick concern, who is being prosecuted for bribing officials, made the sensational revelation that in 1979-80 the intelligence service, lavishly financed by the state, accepted "donations" from banks and industrial concerns. Flick, the Huk association of insurance companies, Dresdner Bank, and also the state-owned concern VEBA paid into the account of a BND agent using the assumed name Peter Hansen a total of 400,000 marks. Industrialists and bankers were thus using the intelligence service as their private detective agency. The scandal was soon hushed up and the Bundestag passed a resolution prohibiting the financing of secret services by private individuals. The BND, however, has a great many loopholes for circumventing the ban. It has its own business enterprises, transport included, which can accept money in the guise of payment for supposed services. Many of the questions raised by von Brauchitsch's testimony remain unanswered to this day. Do other secret services also receive donations from private individuals? If they do, what "assignments" do they perform? At any rate, it is clear that the economic bosses have close contacts with the secret service chiefs.

The Federal Frontier Guard, too, plays a part in the system of total surveillance. There is a great deal of talk in Bonn about "promoting people-to-people contacts," about "open frontiers" and "freedom of travel." But anyone who crosses the eastern frontiers of the F.R.G. can be sure that his name goes into the memory bank of secret service computers. Travel to the G.D.R. may prove to be an "aggravating circumstance" in a loyalty test. Particularly dangerous is it to be involved in group travel. According to the Frankfurter Rundschau, frontier officials are provided with a list of 239 (sic) organizations "hostile to the state" the names of whose members they must register at once.

The public mood is watched also by the police, which smuggles its agents into anti-war organizations and civic action groups advocating environmental protection, and into movements of solidarity with the peoples of developing countries.

In the summer of 1983 a young worker employed at a local factory was summoned to police headquarters in Schwäbisch Gmünd in the environs of which the siting of the American Pershing 2 missiles was to begin shortly. The young man, who had committed no offence, thought it was a misunderstanding. He called up the police station, but the officer at the other end of the line insisted that he come. When he did so, it was sug-

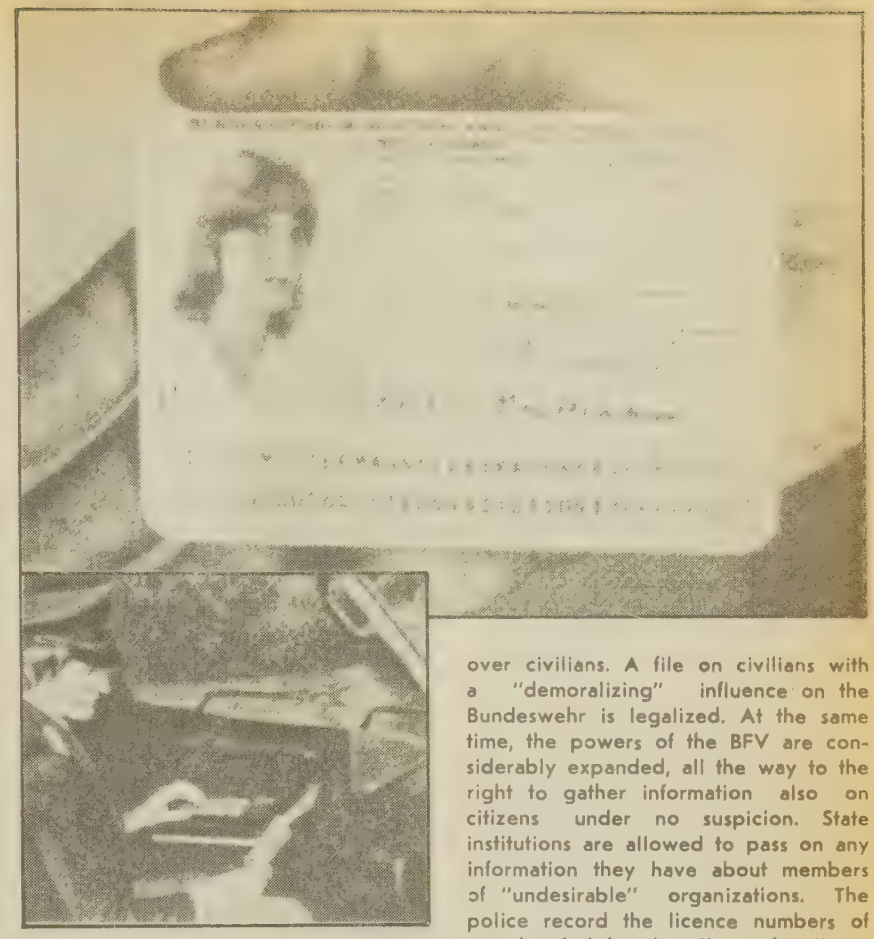


People are watched by means of videocameras mounted in streets and squares, and on police helicopters.

gested that he become a paid informer and keep the police posted on the activity of an anti-war group established at the factory. He refused, and wrote about the attempt to recruit him in the trade union paper Metall. But of course not all such attempts become public knowledge or end in failure for the police.

Besides amateur informers, the police employ specially trained professionals, who are provided with false identity papers and a plausible story. Such agents often act not only as informers, but also as provocateurs, engineering clashes with the police. For the authorities and the right-wing press, disturbances of this kind are an excuse for accusing the peace movement of going in for "violence" and being an assemblage of anarchists and terrorists.

Existing legislation forbids the police to use methods employed by the covert services—telephone tapping, secret photographing of demonstrators, or installing eavesdropping devices in people's homes. But these proscriptions have long been ignored. There is little doubt that soon these illegal methods will be legalized: the interior ministers of the states with CDU and CSU governments have already drafted a bill allowing the police to employ special service methods. Besides, the ruling coalition in Bonn has prepared a package of seven bills which make a sheer mockery of the civic rights and liberties proclaimed by the Constitution. As a matter of fact, the projected legislation merely confirms what has already become standard police and secret service practice.



The new plastic identity cards enable the police, using computers installed in their patrol cars, to learn everything about the owner of the card in a matter of seconds.

Photos from Stern and Spiegel (F.R.G.)

Legalized Lawlessness

The bills were drawn up at secret conferences of the parties of the ruling coalition. Only fragmentary information about the general offensive against civil rights now in preparation seeped into the press. The bills had already been endorsed by CDU, CSU and Free Democrat leaders Helmut Kohl, Franz Josef Strauss and Martin Bangemann before most Bundestag deputies knew anything about them. Public discussion of the bills was, of course, out of the question regardless of the fact that they affect all. Interior Minister Zimmermann, for instance, makes no secret of his disdain for public opinion. "Since when have the citizenry been able to understand complex laws?" he has said. And Chancellor Kohl, as always, urges that there should be no giving in to "pressure from the street." This is West German democracy.

Three of the seven bills have gone through the Bundestag and been endorsed by the second chamber, the Bundesrat. One of them provides for the introduction as of April 1987 of a new type of identity card that can be processed by computer in a matter of seconds. Observation of the movements of "suspects" will thus be considerably simplified. Another law authorizes the police to introduce a computerized filing system for data on all individuals, even the totally innocent, who get into police records during searches for offenders.

The leaders of the government coalition propose to put the other four bills through parliament before summer. The idea is to remove this unpopular issue from the agenda before the January 1987 general election.

The new legislation extends to military counterintelligence the powers now enjoyed by the Department for Safeguarding the Constitution. MAD is thus authorized to exercise surveillance over civilians. A file on civilians with a "demoralizing" influence on the Bundeswehr is legalized. At the same time, the powers of the BFV are considerably expanded, all the way to the right to gather information also on citizens under no suspicion. State institutions are allowed to pass on any information they have about members of "undesirable" organizations. The police record the licence numbers of cars headed for the sites of anti-war meetings or demonstrations, and the same is being done with cars parked in the vicinity of premises of the German Communist Party and other left organizations. Now this practice is legalized by the new traffic law.

What disquiets public opinion the most is a bill on "information cooperation" between the federal and state security agencies, which virtually erases the demarcation line between the police and the special services drawn by the Constitution and provides for all but unlimited exchange of information among the police, the special services, the frontier guard, the prosecutor's office and the customs. The bill evokes among the Germans grim memories of Hitler's secret state police, the Gestapo, which both exercised surveillance and dealt summarily with opponents of the regime.

The well-known legal expert Professor Jürgen Seifert has likened the new bills to emergency legislation. Emergency laws, however, become operative only in emergency situations. The new Bonn laws which turn the F.R.G. into a state of total surveillance will be enforced permanently.

Bonn

BEFORE THE DECISIVE PHASE

Stockholm's Kulturhuset, or Culture House, where the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is held, is situated in central Stockholm. It is a popular venue. Its day-to-day activities include exhibitions of painting, sculpture and folk art, demonstrations of educational and informative films and video. Scores of special interest groups meet here. A magnificent library occupies the ground floor, with a steep staircase leading to the long terrace on the first floor.

The entrance to the conference premises is heavily guarded—after the murder of Olof Palme, committed not far from here, the precautions do not seem superfluous. To enter the conference hall one has to pass the barrier of supersensitive metal detectors and a special police detail. Ideal conditions for thorough work are created here. The pace of the conference is mounting as the day draws nearer when it is to report to the participants in the Helsinki forum, who will meet in Vienna this coming autumn. So there is not much time left before the closing of the current stage, already fixed for September 19.

What are the conference's prospects of ending fruitfully—that was the question that most interested the journalists who gathered in Kulturhuset on the eve of the closing of the ninth session.

"I am confident that this conference offers what may perhaps be described as unique opportunities for reaching a serious agreement," Oleg Grinevsky, the leader of the Soviet delegation, told newsmen. "Its contours have already emerged, taking, moreover, more concrete shape than ever before. It is obvious that what is needed today is the will to overcome the obstacles in the way of progress."

Indeed, last October consensus was reached on the issues to be incorporated in the final document. These included prior notification of large-scale military manoeuvres, exchange of observers and of annual plans for military activity; its limitation, and the non-use of force in international relations, or, to be more precise, the application of this principle to the conditions prevailing in Europe.

This understanding is of vital importance. It was achieved only in the second year of the conference thanks, primarily, to the constructive efforts of the delegations from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Participants in the forum emphasized that an important change for the better had taken place after the Soviet-French summit in Paris and the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting in Geneva, where the sides proclaimed their intention to work for the earliest possible and fruitful completion of the conference.

At this session the editing of the text of the final document began.

Late last year a mechanism for discussing and drafting concrete agreements was elaborated. Five coordinators, one each from Sweden, Finland and Austria, and two from Switzerland, have been appointed to the five working groups, three of which will concentrate on political and two on military questions. I met Wolfgang Loible, the coordinator from Austria, who described the procedure thus: At the present stage, when the positions of the sides have been set out and substantiated and the conference has proceeded to drafting the documents in the working groups, the coordinator is indispensable to achieving practical results. Since the conference chairmen are constantly succeeding each other, the job of coordinators, who are in fact chairmen of permanent working groups, is in the first place to contact the participants so as to compile the agenda for the coming meetings. They also collect the suggestions on the text of the future document and, taking them into account, submit a variant for discussion by the working groups.

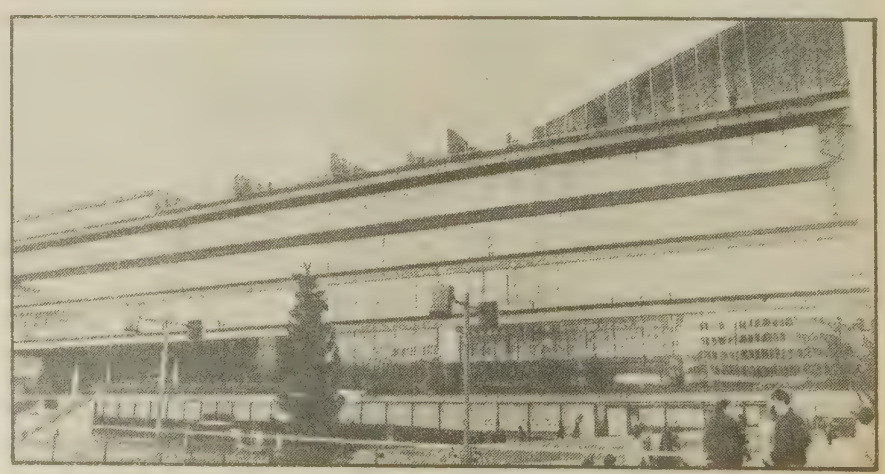
"The session that has just ended lacked productivity," says Wolfgang Loible. "In my opinion, this is due to the fact that it was to some extent transitional. I hope that at the concluding sessions the bulk of the issues will be settled."

So what is hindering progress at the conference?

Among the multitude of problems that inevitably accumulate at a forum of such a scale the most topical are nevertheless easily seen. These are the character of the agreements that are to be worked out and the way to reach them. The divide runs mainly between the stands of the Soviet Union and the socialist states, on the one hand, and the United States and its North Atlantic bloc partners, on the other.

One of the stumbling blocks is the non-use of force. This proposal was put forward by the socialist countries and adopted for discussion despite objections raised by the U.S. It argued that since the principle is recorded in the U.N. Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, there is no point further reiterating it. But this is to distort the Soviet proposal. In an interview with your correspondent, Oleg Grinevsky underscored:

"We want to impart concrete content to this principle and make it as efficient as possible. We mean not only the non-use of force but the non-use of military force inasmuch as the conference is dealing with the limitation of military



Kulturhuset, where the Stockholm conference is being held.

TASS photo

activity, with questions of security. We are striving for an agreement that rules out the use of nuclear and conventional weapons, the use of force generally."

Such a radical approach is backed by the character of the proposed document. The Soviet side holds that an agreement binding for the participating states would best meet the interests of universal security. It proceeds from the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, which makes a special point of the fact that the political and military aspects of European security are mutually complementary. Then, the U.N. Charter (Article 52) provides for the conclusion of regional agreements "relating to the maintenance of international peace and security." It is also in line with the spirit of the November 21 Soviet-U.S. statement which declares that both nuclear and conventional wars are inadmissible.

Compelled to agree to discuss the proposal, the U.S. now advocates, contrary to its own earlier arguments, a bare reiteration of the general principle, avoiding concrete commitments. One reason for this is evidently the NATO military doctrine envisaging a first nuclear strike and the development of new types of conventional weapons systems of enormous destructive power, and, of course, Washington's stake on military superiority. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that greater security and broader cooperation in Europe are incompatible with this stand. Thus, "Atlantic solidarity" stands in the way of the settlement of urgent security problems.

The situation is more or less the same in the field of confidence-building measures in the military sphere. They are necessary indeed. Take, for instance, the scale of exercises which sometimes differ little from preparations for an assault. They are held to intimidate, to bring pressure to bear, as was the case with U.S. armed provocations in the Mediterranean and the Caribbean. That is why the socialist states' proposals provide for limiting the scale of manoeuvres along with prior notification of major manoeuvres and troops movements not only of land, but of air and naval forces as well. This corresponds exactly to the mandate of the Madrid meeting which points out that "these confidence- and security-building measures will cover the whole of Europe as well as the adjoining sea area and airspace." This is only logical if we bear in mind the role the Pentagon assigns to the naval and air forces in the event of U.S. intervention in Europe.

Instead of confidence-building measures, the U.S. would rather have information, largely of an intelligence nature. The word "transparency" has of late become current in the lexicon of the U.S. delegation. In the view of its head, Robert Barry, the agreement to be adopted in Stockholm should be devoted almost wholly to transparency, i.e., to information, notification, warning, observation of, and supervision over, military activity.

Nobody denies the importance of information and control in the observance of agreements on concrete confidence-building measures. But, first, the agreements reached should be aimed at lessening the military danger and, second, the character of notification should enhance confidence, not undermine it.

"It is not a matter of information as such," says the head of the Soviet delegation, "but of its character. The proposed exchange of information on the stationing of military units, troop formations and headquarters might be used to target U.S. Pershings and cruises deployed in Europe. And what has this to do with confidence and security? Such information will inevitably be a one-way affair, binding for the U.S.S.R. and not binding for the U.S. since it is not a European state, and the agreement would concern only its troops stationed in Europe."

The striving to extract unilateral benefits from confidence-building measures, to sever the organic link between the volume of verification and the content of agreements subject to verification—that is the keynote of the U.S. delegation's activities at the conference. That is why the work begun on the text of the document—a moment of the utmost importance, testifying to the indisputable progress of the talks—proceeds very slowly.

As the decisive phase approaches, the differences in the positions of a group of neutral and non-aligned states and the NATO members, and even between NATO members, make themselves felt more and more. The Old World countries have concerns other than those of their transatlantic partner. This is borne out by the stands taken by Italy, Spain, Greece, Denmark, France and some others.

When the conference began its work in January 1984, a new cold war unleashed by the U.S. was at its high, and the arms race had entered a new spiral. The conference was close to being the only link in the waning East-West dialogue. Today the situation has changed perceptibly. The idea of universal security, which the 27th CPSU Congress defined as the main avenue of Soviet foreign policy, is based on concrete, far-reaching proposals winning increasingly widespread support. A substantial part of the new initiatives is addressed to Europe and promises reliable security on the basis of the Helsinki process, for the advance of which the Stockholm conference was convened.

One practical result of these initiatives is a set of proposals that opens the way to reaching agreements in Stockholm. Furthermore, last autumn the Soviet Union agreed with the proposal put forward by neutral countries on the exchange of annual plans of military activity subject to notification. The CPSU General Secretary's January 15 statement directly indicates a way out of the deadlock in the matter of notification of major manoeuvres of the army, the navy and the air force. It is proposed to tackle the problem in stages, postponing the question of naval activity till a later date.

In these circumstances the agreed stand of the NATO states, which continue to adhere to the package submitted under U.S. aegis over two years ago, before the other participants' positions had been made clear, cannot but cause mounting confusion and protests. The package has now been carved up and served to the working groups as new proposals. This scissors, not negotiation, diplomacy runs counter to the interests and aspirations of the majority at the conference. We are prepared to be flexible, time is pressing, a U.S. delegate said at the concluding sitting of the 9th session. But it is time for action, not mere words. The opponents of agreement will have to accept the responsibility if the hopes pinned by Europe on the Stockholm conference are not vindicated, if security and confidence are not consolidated after it ends. On the other hand, if the conference is a success, and the agreement on security signed, it would become part of a universal system of international security aimed at consolidating trust between nations, an advance without precedent in the current decade.

"We are already thinking of the next, the 10th, session," Ambassador Alois Reznick, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, told your correspondent. "And it can be said even now that what is needed is the resolve to tackle the problems, speed up the editing process and focus attention on the central issues. Then the conference can finish its work in time and with results."

Y. GUDKOV
Our Special Correspondent

Stockholm

THE FIGHT IS NOT OVER

ANATOLY KRASIKOV

The referendum on Spain's membership of NATO has brought victory to the Gonzalez government. Here are the returns announced by the Ministry of the Interior. Out of a 29-million-strong electorate, 17.2 million (or 59.41 per cent) went to the polls, and 11.8 million (40.59 per cent) stayed away. Nine million votes (52.49 per cent) were cast for, and 6.9 million (39.84 per cent) against Spain's continued membership of the bloc. The rest of the votes were left blank, or spoiled.

Both in Spain and abroad, papers point to the fact that the official referendum returns are in striking contrast with the results of pre-referendum public opinion polls.

Emilio Martinez Ramos, general director of the firm Emopublica which was instructed to publicize the breakdown of the vote, issued the following statement: "The voters' positions have changed considerably over the past few days.... These changes resulted largely from the campaign involving political leaders and, in particular, from their appearances on Spanish television."

Forty Months and a Few Days

If it is true that Spanish voters' positions underwent radical changes at the eleventh hour, it is also true that these changes had been prepared by the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (SWPS) over the past forty months.

The magazine Nation, published in the United States, reminded its readers recently that although after their victory at the 1982 parliamentary elections the Socialists had announced a "freeze" on Spain's further integration into NATO's military organization, Spanish representatives were still active in numerous organs of the bloc. They sat in on the Defence Planning Committee and the Euro-Group, kept the observer status in the Nuclear Planning Group and in the special consultative group. Moreover, Spain's involvement with NATO even increased under the Gonzalez government, the magazine commented. The Spanish Defence Minister attended conferences with representatives from the countries forming the so-called integrated defence structure of the bloc. France, whose status in NATO is formally the same as that of Spain, is not represented in any of these organs.

In the Nation's opinion, the change in the Socialists' position with regard to NATO is primarily due to pressure from Washington and those of its European allies who would like Spain to remain in the organization.

Felipe Gonzalez began to give open support for Spain's continued stay in NATO. However, neither the country, nor his own party was prepared for such a move. As he campaigned with increasing vigour for his new foreign policy, the President of the Government delayed the referendum (which had been promised to Spaniards as far back as 1982) for as long as he possibly could. He finally gave it the go-ahead only a few months before the term of the Cortes elected at the last parliamentary elections expired. However, Felipe Gonzalez took his country's anti-militaristic sentiments into account and stipulated its continued NATO membership on three conditions which we dwelt upon in detail on a previous occasion (see New Times No. 8, 1986).

For all that, the Americans were afraid that the Vox Populi Operation could lead to Spain breaking with the bloc they had put together, and insistently advised Felipe Gonzalez to "forget" about the referendum. However, this statesman, in whom millions of his compatriots have confidence, could not dash the hopes of those who had given him their vote in 1982. Instead, he has continued to repeat over the past few years that his experience of managing state affairs has convinced him of the advisability of maintaining links with NATO.

On March 13, when it was all over, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, speaking before a Senate committee, praised the Spanish Premier for having kept his word to the Americans without violating his election promises. While in New York in September 1985, George Shultz said, Felipe Gonzalez had advised him that he was going to conduct a referendum, because as a politician he had to keep the promise he had made during the election campaign. According to Shultz, Gonzalez believed the Spanish people would support him.

Exactly three days before the referendum, on March 9, Felipe Gonzalez met with U.S. Vice-President George Bush in Lisbon. Both were there on the occasion of President Mario Soares' inauguration, but the conversation between the head of the Spanish government and the high-ranking transatlantic visitor certainly centred on the referendum. On the eve of polling day, the Spaniards learned from a report by the EFE's Washington correspondent that in the event of a defeat for the pro-NATO forces the U.S. had established contacts with Spanish right-wing leaders. (The report sounded like a warning that if it broke with NATO Spain was in for a "surprise" as had often happened in the country's history, its recent history included.)

Substitution

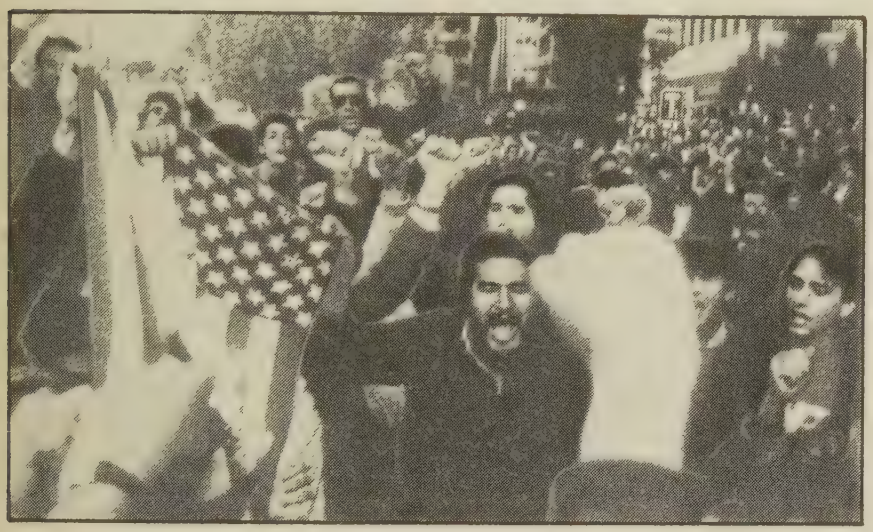
Political observers are unanimous in their judgement that the SWPS leaders have managed to substitute—in the eyes of most Spaniards—the alternative of voting for or against NATO with that of voting for the Socialists or for the right, which has more immediate meaning for them. Felipe Gonzalez accomplished this with the help (albeit unintentional) of his political opponent Manuel Fraga Iribarne. By calling upon the supporters of the Popular Alliance to boycott the referendum and making an open bid for the defeat of the government, he reinforced Gonzalez' Atlanticist stand by the votes of those who had previously declared: "Yes to Gonzalez, No to NATO."

Many of those who voted "for" would prefer Spain to withdraw from NATO. For them, however, opposition to Gonzalez' proposal assumed a new meaning—from then on it looked like a refusal to support the Socialist government to which the only real alternative today is, as all can see, the rule of the right.

For most Spaniards, their country's membership of NATO, with Socialists

in office, looks evil, but it is still a lesser evil than the revival of neo-Francoism. This predetermined, in the end, the change that occurred in voters' attitudes a few days before the referendum. Here is a characteristic example: at a Navarra polling station an elector asked: "Where do you vote for Gonzalez here?" (This was quoted by many papers.)

By his gesture, Manuel Fraga Iribarne scared off a proportion of his own political supporters as well—namely those who realized that an attempt to get Spain into NATO's military organization was doomed to failure and who were ready to keep the country in the bloc as such at any price. Several prominent leaders of the Popular Alliance (and all Alliance members resident in the United States) accused their leader of putting his personal ambition before the interests of the pro-NATO camp. In violation of party discipline, they voted for Gonzalez' proposal.



An anti-NATO demonstration in Madrid.

Photo from Panorama (Italy)

For his part, the President of the Government resorted on a wide scale to the tactic of inculcating Spaniards with the fear of what a break with NATO could bring. The Paris Le Monde pointed out that shortly before the referendum the percentage of don't knows was comparatively high. Felipe Gonzalez spared no effort to win them over. Knowing that the Spaniards disapprove of NATO, the government and its supporters avoided even referring directly to NATO and the Atlantic alliance; at the same time Socialists tried to give the debate a "dramatic colouring." Those in control of the country's economy implied that voting against NATO membership would strike a blow at foreign investment and national exports and bar Spain's access to modern technology.

Exactly a week before the referendum, the presidents of the country's eight leading banks publicly voiced their support for the government and said the victory of the anti-NATO forces would have "an unpredictable effect on the country's economic prospects." The France Presse agency noted that "catastrophism" was a dominant motif in the campaign.

There is no denying the opportunities at the transnationals' disposal to influence the Spanish economy. "Is Spain for sale? It is being sold off on the cheap," the French weekly L'Express wrote last November. "At present Spain's economy is more dependent on foreign investment than that of any other European country. Foreigners are more and more in evidence in modern industries. Foreign capital controls car manufacture, trade, food production, the chemical industry, tyre production, electronics and telecommunications.... It is playing no mean role in tourism, banking and insurance, it is beginning to find its way into agriculture and even into the nationalized sector. Of Spain's 50 leading companies, 27 are foreign-owned."

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Socialist government could have upheld the country's economic independence, but it took a different course. According to L'Express, the influx of foreign investments in 1984 (267 billion pesetas) was five times the figure ten years before.

In his last pre-referendum statement, the President of the Government repeated that the victory of those in opposition to NATO would entail a period of instability fraught with serious consequences. Taking credit for Spain having rid itself of American nuclear weapons (which in fact happened in 1979 under Adolfo Suarez), the SWPS leader called upon Spaniards to "vote for the government's proposal on March 12 so that there would be no nuclear weapons in the country."

NATO Reaction

So Spain followed the example set by General de Gaulle twenty years ago. It decided to stay in the North Atlantic bloc without relinquishing control of its armed forces to the NATO joint military command. Such, strictly speaking, is the essence of the official position approved in the course of the March 12 referendum.

It is noteworthy that while France's withdrawal from the NATO joint military organization in 1966 elicited a resentful and even hostile reaction from official Washington, the results of the recent referendum in Spain were met with a sigh of relief.

The very promptness of the reaction to victory for the Spanish government before the final results had been announced showed that the outcome had been anxiously awaited outside Spain. At a most inopportune time—in the middle of the night—the EFE agency managed to contact F.R.G. government spokesmen and interview them. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Minister for Foreign Affairs, exclaimed: "A great day has come!" Defence Minister Manfred Wörner added: "This is a historic decision." Lord Carrington, NATO Secretary-General, called a press conference in Brussels and told it he was delighted with the results of the Spanish referendum and that all members of the alliance shared his feelings.

In a personal message to the President of the Government of Spain, President Ronald Reagan praised Felipe Gonzalez' leadership and the efforts he had made to secure the nation's support on the NATO issue. Bob Sims, an official Pentagon spokesman, echoed this enthusiasm, saying that some in the White House had used the word "fantastic" and nobody thought it an overstatement. The fact was, he said, that the result benefited the North Atlantic alliance, from the U.S. point of view.

Indeed, what mattered to the Atlanticists this time was not merely the participation or non-participation of a West European country in NATO's joint armed forces commanded by an American general. The alternative they faced was Spain remaining outside the joint military organization or breaking with NATO altogether.

"Having cast all prudence aside, the United States openly expressed its enormous satisfaction over Spain stay-

ing on in NATO," Alberto García Marrder, an EFE correspondent, reported from Washington. "The Reagan Administration was afraid lest a negative outcome demonstrate the absence of unity in the camp of the NATO member states. There were also fears of a setback in Spain creating a precedent for other countries—Greece, for instance—to arrange similar referendums and dissociate themselves from NATO. The outcome of the referendum in Spain stopped the agony caused by fear of a defeat for the government despite the assurances by the SWPS leaders that they would certainly win."

Solomon Ortiz, a U.S. Congressman who visited Madrid last year as a member of the House Armed Services Committee, told an EFE correspondent frankly that the Americans were pleased with Felipe Gonzalez who had proved a real leader and kept his word. Melvin Price, a colleague of his, and chairman of a House committee, went even further. He said it was most encouraging that the Spaniards had shown their anti-communism so clearly.

The implication of these words is clear. Tom Lantos, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, blurted it out by expressing the hope that Spain's involvement in NATO would sooner or later become complete. Hugh de Santis, an expert in European affairs at the right-wing Carnegie Foundation, said that in his opinion Spain would "make adjustments" in its stand on integration into NATO's military structure.

What Now?

In the meantime, "adjustments" have already begun to be made in the SWPS's economic policy. Two days after the referendum, on March 14, the Spanish government endorsed a series of measures intended to "invigorate Spanish economy." The measures included the further liberalization of foreign investments, stimulation of investment through tax benefits, and removing all obstacles in the way of private enterprise.

On the same day the cabinet officially informed all NATO members of the results of the referendum. Jaime de Ojeda, Spain's Ambassador to NATO, handed over to Lord Carrington, NATO Secretary-General, the text of the letter to be circulated to the foreign and defence ministers of the NATO member states. The Spanish government took this opportunity to restate its position on Gibraltar and stressed that its decision to stay on in NATO did not cancel its demand that "the last colony in Europe" be abolished.

It was reported at the same time that the question of reducing U.S. military personnel in Spain would be raised at the next session of the Spanish-American Council to be held in Washington on May 27 with Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and George Shultz, U.S. Secretary of State, attending.

In connection with the coming talks, Spanish papers have reminded their readers that the U.S. maintains at its bases in Spain 12,545 servicemen, 1,669 civilian employees and 196 planes. The Rota naval base which makes it possible to monitor ship movements within a radius of 3,000 km is of the greatest strategic importance to Washington.

Edward Djerejian, a White House spokesman, reaffirmed at a press conference that the talks with Spain would be held. Answering the question of whether Washington had set a limit to its troop reduction or to the number of its bases on Spanish territory, he gave newsmen to understand that the U.S. was not in a hurry to deal with these matters. A change in the level of the U.S. military presence in Spain, he said, was to be discussed as an integral part of drawing up a new agreement which would replace the one now in force signed in 1983 and described by Djerejian as a cornerstone of our bilateral relations. To remove all doubts on that score, the White House spokesman stressed once again that any changes would be made conditional on the bilateral agreement to replace the current one which expires in 1988.

The U.S. government has, moreover, announced that it is going to spend $6.5 million in 1987 on the modernization of its military bases in Spain. The lion's share of this sum—$4.6 million—will go into reconstructing the oil main leading to the Rota naval base—the United States' most important military installation on Spanish territory near the Strait of Gibraltar. The remaining $1.9 million will be spent by the U.S. army command on the reconstruction of its air force bases in Torrejon and Saragossa where American fighter-bombers are stationed.

In 1985 the U.S. Congress allocated $9.6 million for the modernization of American military installations in Spain. The United States had spent a still greater sum—$22 million—on this in 1984. Under the circumstances, the withdrawal of U.S. military personnel from Spain (like the withdrawal from France in 1966) is open to question.

The Spanish Atlanticists' enthusiasm over the results of the March 12 referendum is gradually giving way to a more sober analysis of what has happened. The newspaper ABC described the results as "a Pyrrhic victory for Felipe Gonzalez." A comparison between the referendum results and the returns in the October 1982 parliamentary elections, the paper says, will show that the Socialists have lost more than a million votes.

Speaking on national television, Felipe Gonzalez himself called on all the forces represented in parliament to achieve "a consensus on the policy of peace and security." "From now on," he promised, "Spain's policy will consist in a vigorous effort to promote the cause of peace and in an active support for détente."

The electorate, which has once again given credence to its leader's words, expects them to be followed by actions other than integration into NATO's military organization. Electors find it hard to understand why the Spanish representative attended the session of the NATO nuclear planning group in Würzburg (F.R.G.) at the end of March. They are puzzled as to why he publicly justified the U.S. refusal to join the moratorium on nuclear tests after Spain had voted in the United Nations for an immediate end to nuclear weapon testing.

As for Gonzalez' call for a consensus, it was rejected outright by the right-wing opposition which has not abandoned the hope of drawing Spain into the aggressive bloc's military organization in the open, rather than through the back door, in the event of its victory at the elections. Incidentally, Alfonso Guerra, Felipe Gonzalez' deputy, has already announced that the next parliamentary elections will be held this autumn.

Those in opposition to Spain's NATO membership say that they, for their part, will not give up the fight to get their country out of the organization. They regard the referendum results as a moral and political victory evidenced by the millions of votes cast against Madrid's participation in the North Atlantic alliance.

■

BREAK THE OLD STEREOTYPES

Whatever the scientists do it always turns out to be a weapon. This bitterly ironic observation by the well-known American author Kurt Vonnegut is astonishingly applicable to what is happening today in the United States. In the Livermore laboratory in California prototypes of strike weapons intended for deployment in orbit around the Earth are being developed and in Nevada underground testing is under way of a new generation of nuclear weapons which, its authors claim, could become the generator of "death rays" poised over our planet from outer space.

In his time, the prominent American scientist Jerome Wiesner admitted that the U.S. had created a monstrous nuclear trap that had clamped down on the whole world. Now American politicians and generals are counting on extending this trap to cosmic heights and creating around our planet a sort of "astro-cupola" bristling with the latest weapons of death and destruction.

How to escape from this trap?

International reaction to the new Soviet initiatives aimed at safeguarding world security and bringing about disarmament speaks for itself: millions of people heartily approve of the Soviet Union's call to the United States and other nuclear powers to make nuclear disarmament a reality in the immediate future before the time allotted mankind by history runs out. To attain this cherished goal, all countries must rise above national egoism, tactical considerations, disputes and disagreements and join efforts for the sake of preserving human civilization. What is needed is an entirely new approach to the problem, to the establishment of a system of reliably guaranteed international security.

This cardinal issue is examined in the new book by the well-known Soviet scholar Professor Vladimir Petrovsky.* The old criteria divorced from the new realities and based on the archaic idea that it is possible to ensure one's own security at the expense of the security of others are outdated, he points out. Obvious too is the fallacy of the approach, traditional for the ruling classes of the exploitative society, which holds that security can only be ensured by military means, and that diverse international agreements on limiting or restricting the military activity of states are allegedly detrimental to security. The Clausewitz formula: "War is a continuation of policy by other means" has long since become obsolete, and has a place only in the theory explaining the essence of war as the continuation and expression of a definite class policy. The possibility and admissibility of "limited," "brief" or "protracted" nuclear wars can be considered only by those who remain captive to the old stereotypes about war being a great misfortune but not threatening mankind with extinction as it does today.

It goes without saying that so long as weapons exist in the world, armed force will remain an important means of ensuring security. For the U.S.S.R. possession of deterrence power is a safeguard of the constructive labours of the Soviet people and hence a guarantee of universal peace. Yes, in certain circumstances security can be ensured only by military means, but their importance should not be absolutized.

On the eve of World War II Soviet diplomacy advanced the concept of "security from war." Its purpose was to shift the accent to recognition and application in international relations of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the foundation of universal security. The nuclear age dictates ever more forcefully the priority of political means of safeguarding security. At a time of nuclear confrontation, which is a threat to all mankind, peace is indivisible. Consequently, security too is indivisible. National or group security cannot be ensured outside the framework of international security. Security for oneself must mean security for all—such is the imperative of the nuclear age.

In one part of his book the author examines **direct** and **indirect** guarantees of international security.

Direct guarantees are those aimed at removing the danger of war, limiting armaments, disarmament, peaceful settlement and prevention of conflicts. Among indirect guarantees is the creation of external conditions impeding the use of armed force — regulating economic and other ties between states, including contacts in the intellectual and information spheres.

Definite avenues leading to the creation of direct guarantees have asserted themselves in international relations. The question of the relationship between disarmament and international security — the key to the creation of direct guarantees—was raised by Soviet diplomacy at the initial stage of Soviet foreign policy. Already at that time the thesis of universal security through general and complete disarmament was formulated.

The inseparable interconnection between disarmament and international security demands the exertion of maximum effort to hasten the solution of the cardinal task of our time — to curb and end the arms race and go over to disarmament.

S. BEGLOV

* V. Petrovsky. "Security in the Nuclear-Space Age." Moscow, 1985.

TALK FOR DIPLOMATS

On March 28 the heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Moscow met with Academician Anatoly Yegorov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee.

In his talk with the diplomats, Academician Yegorov dwelt on the historic role of the 27th CPSU Congress and stressed that the documents it adopted define in true Leninist style the political line of the CPSU and the prospects for the country's development up to the end of the century, and are indicative of the growing role played by the Communist Party in the life of Soviet society.

He stressed the consistency of the CPSU course oriented on peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, on renunciation of the use of force in international affairs and on the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The meeting was sponsored by the Protocol Department of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry.

A. VIKTOROV

YOU ASK...

Africa is still little known to the outside world. Perhaps, however, a glimpse of ancient African customs and beliefs could help us understand it better.

L. MUSIN
Leningrad

WITCHCRAFT IN THE NIGHT...

VLADIMIR IORDANSKY, D.Sc. (Hist.)

Recently an open trial took place in the Masvingo community in Zimbabwe. A peasant woman, Rosewitter Taruvinga, was tried for claiming "supernatural powers." She was convicted under the country's anti-witchcraft law.

Anti-witchcraft law.... How can anyone be tried for what he or she cannot do, merely for pretending to a role which one cannot play? Obviously, a self-styled sorcerer has only imaginary "powers." It is likewise clear that any magic, however sinister it may look, poses no real threat to anyone. Claims to supernatural powers, it would seem, can only make people laugh. Why then an anti-witchcraft law?

In the Dead of Night

The answer to this question, however, is not self-evident. Sorcery is a very complex social, philosophical and cultural problem in Africa south of the Sahara, and a difficult and painful one at that.

Only recently the very word "sorcery" aroused such feelings of terror and disgust that people avoided using it. It was no trifling matter to accuse a person of witchcraft. The Ashanti tribe in Ghana, for instance, subjected the suspect to an ordeal by poison and if he or she survived, the calumniator had to pay such a heavy fine that his clan was ruined.

But if a man or woman was found guilty of "practising witchcraft," the punishment was merciless: the culprit was stoned to death, burned alive, or drowned. The severity of the punishment was commensurate with the power for evil which lore ascribed to sorcerers and magicians. And that power was believed to be immense: people thought that sorcerers could visit on them death, natural disasters and epidemics. The Warega do not believe in natural death, the Belgian officer Dehaise, a distinguished student of the culture and lore of that small tribe in Zaire, observed at the beginning of this century. Death, they think, is a consequence of magic usually performed by women. Until not long ago such prejudices were widespread.

There is one symptomatic detail in Dehaise's observations: it was for the most part women who were suspected of sorcery by the Warega. Other African tribes had similar beliefs. Women, especially old ones who could no longer bear children and lived apart, removed, as it were, from the farming community, by far outnumbered men among those accused of witchcraft. This prejudice had a quite definite philosophical and social basis. It derived in part from women's inequality: a woman's labour was ruthlessly exploited even in societies with strong vestiges of matriarchy, and her role in the family, let alone in the community, was incomparably smaller than that of men. That was why, men believed, and not without reason, women grew irritable, angry and even hostile; in other words, there were emotional grounds for turning to witchcraft.

According to primitive beliefs, the Universe was the scene of coexistence and conflict between opposing forces, such as light and dark, earth and sky, good and evil, and men and women. In that world view, witchcraft was a perennial attribute of the female. This belief is so old that it is by tradition rather than from conviction that sorcerers and magicians often donned women's clothing during their nocturnal gatherings. A graphic account was recorded in the Ibibio tribe in Eastern Nigeria at the beginning of this century:

"Often magicians go out at midnight to the waterside or to waste places to dance there. They are forced to do this by the witchcraft which is within them. They never sing at such times, as Ibibio are said to do, for fear that people should hear their voices.... On such occasions they wear the cloth okuru, woven of palm fibre and cotton—the same as that which is wrapped round a pregnant woman when she goes to visit the shrine of the ancestors."

Stories about sorcerers and witches supposedly living among ordinary people are replete with descriptions of their abominable practices. These werewolfish creatures are alleged to kill their own progeny, drink human blood and ruin the health of their friends and families. In other words, while the normal individual thinks of promoting the interests of his family and community and adding to the well-being of his or her relatives, sorcerers and witches sapped their strength and caused the most horrible misfortunes.

Even in their outward aspect witches and sorcerers were believed to be the opposite of ordinary people. It was said in the south of Ghana that when one wanted to

A Yoruba sorcerer uses a special board and 16 palm nuts to make his predictions.

blind a witch, one should throw dust onto her heels rather than into her eyes: witches walked backwards, with their feet in the air, so that their eyes were where ordinary people had their heels.

The traditional belief in Africa was that sorcery, magic and clairvoyance were evil incarnate, the embodiment of everything that sapped the vitality both of individuals and of the community as a whole. Naturally, it was also darkness itself, both literally and figuratively. According to folk belief, it was in the dead of night that sorcerers had the greatest power over people and that witches and magicians got together for their secret gatherings. "Wherever a sorcerer wants to fly, he will wait for the night to set out," the West Sudanese Bambara tribe say.

Witches and Sorcerers

But what was the philosophy that gave rise to these terrifying beliefs? How did the Africans themselves perceive the secret mechanism of magic influences on society and man?

It was the British ethnographer E.E. Evans-Pritchard who first identified two discrete sets of ideas behind the concept of witchcraft. In his study, "Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande," he observed the following:

"Azande believe that some people are witches and can injure them by virtue of an inherent quality. A witch performs no rite, utters no spell and possesses no medicines. An act of witchcraft is a psychic act. They believe also that the sorcerers may do them ill by performing magic rites with bad medicines. Azande distinguish clearly between witches and sorcerers....

"To Azande themselves the difference between a sorcerer and a witch is that the former uses the technique of magic and derives his power from medicines, while the latter acts without rites and spells and uses hereditary psycho-psychical powers to attain his ends. Both alike are enemies of men and Azande class them together."

According to the beliefs Evans-Pritchard described magic powers are a physical substance which can be identified in the course of an autopsy. Such autopsies were often performed at the insistence of relatives of the deceased to clear him of the suspicion of being a witch. This substance escapes from the body and is recognized by the shimmering light that emanates from it. It harms people by "devouring" the souls of their individual organs. When these are completely "consumed," the person dies. Witches often band together, helping one another.

In another part of Africa, in Central and Southern Ghana, a similar belief in witchcraft was recorded by explorers. It was also believed to be a substance which could be revealed by autopsy. However, the mechanism was thought to be different from that perceived by the Azande and dependent to a large extent on the intrinsic make-up of the personality, usually quite complex.

The Ashanti, for example, believe that man has three souls: mogya, or abusua, the soul of the blood, which is feminine and is transmitted through the mother; ntoro, the soul inherited from the father, which is usually called sunsum; and kra, which is received from the spirit presiding over the day of one's birth. Each of the seven days of the Ashanti week has such a guardian spirit.

Debrunner, who studied the beliefs of the Akan tribes, describes a slightly different picture. According to him, "the kra is that which brings life and luck and good things to the body." The kra, he stresses, is "the life in the blood of man," and he further points out that "the kra is considered as a sort of double... only of the finest substance."

Obviously, the ethnographer has conflated the abusua and kra souls, perhaps in conformity with the beliefs of the Africans themselves, whose notions of human nature became simplified as time went on. According to his observations, people in Central and Coastal Ghana believed that man has only two souls, the kra, or the "life soul," and the sunsum, the "personality soul." Nevertheless, the kra continued to be associated with the blood, and the mother, and the sunsum with the ntoro, and the father.

Ghanaian scholar Kofi Busia observed: "A man's sunsum is his ego, his personality, his distinctive character.... A father transmits his sunsum to the child; this is what moulds the child's personality and disposition."

The belief that there are several souls and that the sunsum can escape from the body and "devour" the kra, constitutes the philosophical foundation of the belief in witchcraft. How did the witch cause evil? His sunsum destroyed the kra of another person, who fell ill and eventually died. It was on the basis of these relatively simple beliefs that the collective consciousness, creating myths, built up the terrifying images and ideas which have come down to us as witchcraft. These ideas touched one of the more deep-seated and sensitive nerves of the primitive African community, namely, its fear for its integrity and cohesion, its fear of the atmosphere of mutual suspicion and hatred, which along with witchcraft destroyed the spirit of solidarity, unity and order.

There was one more important factor. The personality, as perceived by the primitive consciousness, organically combined male and female elements; it united the ancient collectivist matriarchal traditions and the more individualistic aspirations associated with the patriarchal system. The union of those two elements, however, was always tenuous, and the fear of witchcraft further weakened it. The conflict between the sorcerer and society, between his sunsum and the kra of ordinary members of the community took hold of the African consciousness and was viewed as a life-and-death struggle between loyalty to tradition and the laws laid down by the ancestors, on the one hand, and a striving for renewal, for a revision of the ancient communal order, on the other.

This seer uses cola nuts.

Photos from Pierre Verger's book "Dieux d'Afrique"

The belief in witchcraft was therefore rooted in the idea that the individual elements of the human personality could act as independent mythical creatures. Sorcery, conversely, was thought to be a totality of magic techniques. At the same time, though this contrasting of witchcraft and sorcery is justified, sorcery and witchcraft were intermittently intertwined and superimposed, and elements of witchcraft could be isolated in sorcery while witches not uncommonly resorted to magic. Sorcery and

witchcraft in primitive African cultures formed a single body of ideas, images and beliefs and were diametrically opposed to the cult of ancestors as the most important philosophical basis of primitive tribal societies. Whereas the cult of ancestors with its deep-rooted belief in blood relationships between people, and between the individual and the community, and in their links with the mythical world, was a strong force for tribal cohesion, sorcery and witchcraft were destructive. They bred fear and discord and eventually contributed to the disintegration of the community. They made tribesmen suspect and mistrust one another.

There is one more significant aspect to this complex social phenomenon. The fear of being accused of sorcery or witchcraft was a psychological and moral constraint. It kept young people from criticizing the elders, the poor from showing open resentment towards the well-to-do, and rank-and-file tribesmen from disobeying the chief. This fear made people follow tradition, speak and do as the next man and respect ancient customs because it was those who challenged the existing order who were most likely to be accused of sorcery and witchcraft. It was only much later that those constraints began to slacken. Under the impact of social change, the conflict between the individual interest and collective custom intensified in the mentality of every tribesman. At the level of social consciousness, that excruciating internal conflict manifested itself in an acute crisis of tribal and communal philosophy: outbreaks of terror caused by sorcery and witchcraft made society revise its ideas of the cult of ancestors and look for protection and a way out of the blind alley of primitive belief in monotheistic religions such as Christianity and Islam. The more important categories of social consciousness were eventually dismantled and revised.

Real Problems Behind the Imaginary World

Witchcraft is an imaginary world, but often enough the imaginary became palpable reality. Primitive society readily charged its antagonists with the "sin" of sorcery and witchcraft, and banished and even destroyed them. Nonetheless some people did not wait for society to accuse them, but came forward on their own with claims to supernatural magic powers. Who were they and did that stratum change along with African society? Searching for answers to these questions, one wonders how social antagonisms and contradictions in primitive tribal society were reflected in the collective consciousness.

The role of sorcery and witchcraft in this context was immense. When tension grew in the village, when hostility built up between the different families in the rural community and quarrels broke out every now and then, tribesmen did not link these upheavals with a shortage of free land near the village or the deterioration of the fields around it. More and more often they accused one another of sorcery or witchcraft. The latter accusation was especially widespread in communities made up entirely of members of the same family: according to folk beliefs, the witch could cause evil only to his blood relatives, his father, mother, children, brothers or sisters. That was why the community saw him as the worst kind of enemy within.

Conflicts in African villages broke out along traditional divides, namely, between clans, men and women, or young people and elders. During the past few decades, however, these divides have begun to merge and form tight tangles of contradiction. New conflicts, caused by the disintegration of the community, growing economic inequality and the onslaught of capitalist relations, have begun to grow alongside old ones. Rural riots in Western Nigeria in 1964 and the widespread involvement of young peasants in insurgent movements in the Congo (now Zaire) in 1963-64 were signs of a crisis in traditionalist society.

Two controversial phenomena made their impact at that time. In some cases large sectors of African society rose against sorcerers, witches and wizards, accusing them of instigating changes for the worse. In other cases, the more miserable, downtrodden members of society publicly laid claim to supernatural powers and set themselves in opposition to others. There were countless tragic incidents caused by panic-inspired witch-hunts or, conversely, by the "malicious actions" of secret alliances of witches or magicians. Thousands of people died in the battle of an ancient society against terrifying spectres of its own making.

Perhaps, however, archaic notions of sorcery and witchcraft only affected relatively peripheral sectors of African society? Far from it. Zairean scholars Kadiebwe Mulonda, Tshimpanga Bakadianjila, Mubiayi Tshimanga and Makolo Matuhu, who have studied the problem, say in a recent article that not only peasants and villagers but also intellectuals believe in witchcraft. According to them, hardly a day passes without requests for protection against witchcraft, for prosperity, remedies for failure to conceive, for explanations for the death of a child, and for the protection of children against sorcery, without self-accusations of sorcery. This piece of evidence is far from isolated.

What is being done today to rid society of such beliefs? The governments of African countries are aware of the complexity of the problem, and the measures they take reflect sentiments and expectations which they cannot brush aside. People who believe in sorcery and witchcraft and who, moreover, consider them a threat to their security, would lose confidence in the authorities if they failed to take practical steps, including legislation, to protect the population against this "evil." They would even perceive such inaction as covert sympathy with their enemies.

That is why Zimbabwe, like some other countries, still has special legislation against witchcraft, a source of so much fear to the population. But the government realizes that the important thing is not to punish, but to educate people. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said in a recent speech that witchcraft and witch-hunting should become a thing of the past and that Zimbabweans should turn to that part of their cultural heritage which is in accord with their progressive path of social development.

Ancient beliefs are deeply rooted in the mentality of the people and it will take much time and effort to supplant them with new ideas and concepts. ■

TAKING UP A POINT

Some writers in the Scandinavian press believe that the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe is no longer relevant. What do people think of this in the Soviet Union?

Leif JUHANSSON
Sweden

OLEG VAKULOVSKY, writer on international affairs, replies:

More than 20 years have passed since Urho Kekkonen, ex-President of Finland, proposed turning the northern part of Europe into a nuclear-free zone. But though this proposal has not been implemented because of U.S. pressure on Denmark and Norway, its partners in NATO, it has not lost its relevance today. On the contrary, the development of the military-political situation in Europe, and in Northern Europe in particular, proves beyond any doubt that the idea of a nuclear-free North was at once wise and politically far-sighted. The deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe and the efforts of the Pentagon to turn its Scandinavian allies into bases for aggression against the Soviet Union have exposed Northern Europe to an even greater risk of being drawn into a global nuclear conflict. If this region acquires the status of a nuclear-free zone in line with international law, this would, beyond doubt, considerably reduce existing tensions.

Urho Kekkonen's proposal is clear and unequivocal. It leaves no room for ambiguity. Most people in Northern Europe are well aware of the importance of this proposal for the security of the region. The governments of Finland and Sweden have taken practical steps in support of declaring Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone. Last year the parliaments of Denmark and Iceland also approved the idea. The governments of Greenland and the Faeroes have already declared their territories nuclear-free zones. Surely this shows that Urho Kekkonen's proposal is still relevant.

The opponents of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe cannot, of course, ignore these facts. In the past they attempted to discredit the very idea. They claimed that, if realized, it would give a unilateral military advantage to the U.S.S.R., disarm Scandinavia, and so forth. Today their tactics are different. They are saying that in principle Kekkonen's idea is excellent. Regrettably, however, though a good idea when it was first advanced, in the 1980s it has become "outdated." These are doubtless the arguments our correspondent has in mind.

In an article in Svenska Dagbladet of Stockholm, Karl Bildt, a prominent Swedish conservative leader and foreign policy expert for the Moderate Party, writes: "A nuclear-free zone was a 1950s solution to a 1950s problem."

Writing for Aftenposten of Norway, Ingvald Grodal, vice-chairman of the Norwegian Defence Association, supports this view: "We have too many other problems for it to be possible to start discussing the problem of creating a zone."

What argument is used in support of the thesis that the idea is no longer relevant? Only one, namely that modern nuclear weapons are characterized by a range and accuracy that make it completely unnecessary to deploy them in Northern Europe to launch an attack on the Soviet Union: times have changed and weaponry has made remarkable progress.

But if this is really the case, why does Washington stubbornly insist on the deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in Norway and Denmark? It is widely known that the Pentagon intends to use several airfields in Norway and Denmark for U.S. combat aircraft with nuclear capabilities. A U.S. Marine brigade whose heavy equipment is stored in depots in Norway may bring such weapons into the country. It should be mentioned that the brigade's 155-mm nuclear capable howitzers are already in ordnance parks in Norway.

Svenska Dagbladet is supposedly unaware of these facts. It writes in a leading article that it is not at all certain that the North European NATO members will make their territories available for U.S. nuclear weapons. Then why did Norway and Denmark sign agreements with the Pentagon on making available their soil for U.S. nuclear arms?

The opponents of Kekkonen's proposal like to repeat again and again that the creation of a nuclear-free zone should hinge on general disarmament. Of course, the establishment of a nuclear-free world through simultaneous and complete disarmament by the nuclear powers is the optimal and most reliable method. This is exactly what the U.S.S.R. proposed when it advanced the programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. But until this process gets under way, the idea of a nuclear-free North will continue to be relevant. In addition, all the necessary preconditions for its realization are there. The region is still free from nuclear weapons. To prevent their penetration all that has to be done is to seal the loopholes.

The Soviet Union has declared its readiness to provide all the essential guarantees to the countries in the zone. Furthermore, it has stated that it is prepared to consider the adoption of measures (even far-reaching ones) with respect to its territory bordering on the zone. It is prepared to discuss with all other parties concerned the granting of nuclear-free-zone status to the Baltic Sea.

It should be taken note of that the Soviet Union is prepared to contribute to the realization of a nuclear-free North. This is a significant factor. It is a fact that in Latin America the nuclear-free zone is valid only within the boundaries of the participating countries. None of them has ever demanded, for instance, that the U.S. should include in that zone its own southern areas where nuclear weapons have been deployed. And, of course, nobody has ever heard of any U.S. initiatives along these lines. Despite this, the opponents of a nuclear-free North have said that the favourable Soviet response is from their point of view "inadequate." They claim that it is impossible to create a zone, while there is a Soviet military potential in the Kola Peninsula. This is obviously simply another attempt to create obstacles in the way of a nuclear-free zone. It is necessary to take account of objective factors. The military measures the U.S.S.R. is taking in the North are of a strictly defensive character. They are an adequate response to the threat posed to our country by U.S. and NATO preparations for war. And they should be considered only in the context of the global strategic balance of forces between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., and between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

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POSTSCRIPT

Spontaneous Disarmament?

The U.S. army is faced with a serious problem, NBC TV tells us. Weapons, munitions, equipment and spare parts keep disappearing. Nor is the picture any different in the other services. Year after year large quantities of ammunition, explosives and spare parts for all types of weapons are lost or stolen. In fact, the Pentagon is unable to calculate exactly how much is missing. Where it all goes is no secret, though. Cold steel rifles, hand grenades and revolvers meet an enormous black market demand. Furthermore, last year there was a row over the illicit sale to Iran of a substantial consignment of spare parts for aircraft. One can only conclude that the thefts must be well organized to make such large-scale operations possible.

Anti-Caning Call

A group of British teachers advocating humane treatment of children have called on the Council of Europe to expel the U.K. because of corporal punishment still practised in its schools. Caning is not uncommon in Britain, the Portuguese newspaper Diario de Noticias observes.

Dilemma

The spectre of stiff Japanese business competition now stalks the White House's notorious SDI. The Japanese manufacture the most dependable and least expensive equipment, from lasers to sophisticated software, necessary for most SDI systems. As the Washington Post observes, the Pentagon is on the horns of a dilemma: whether it should develop national facilities for high-technology equipment—this would be extremely costly—or simply buy hi-tech from Japan. That, however, would only further worsen the U.S. balance of trade deficit with Japan, which has now reached $50 billion.

More Accurate

Everyone knows what CIA stands for. Today, however, there is reason to read the acronym not as Central Intelligence Agency but Central Infiltration Agency, since, according to the London Daily Telegraph, it spends more on the armed infiltration of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola and other Third World countries than on conventional espionage.

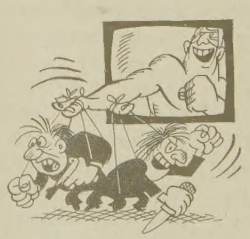
Chanson in Peril

Jack Lang, former French Minister for Culture, has published an open letter in Le Matin of Paris written in English to attract attention. In it he deplores the growing numbers of English singers in the broadcasting media in France. The chanson is in danger, he moans, which means the national flavour and the "French soul" are being lost.

Video vs. Cinema

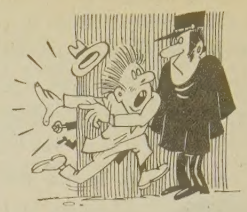
The F.R.G. today has more videotheques than cinemas, 4,600 to 3,500, the West Berlin Der Tagesspiegel tells us. Since 1980 cinema box-office takings have dropped by one sixth, whereas video profits have multiplied 25 times over. Heinz Riech, the country's biggest cinema owner, pessimistically predicts that West German cinema will be dead by the year 2000.

Rambo-Mad



Investigating the murder in Vienna of Friedrich Krauss, 42, police found he had been killed by Robert Thaler and Roland Becker, both 20, in the manner of their American screen hero idol Rambo, says the Vienna newspaper Die Presse. "They're Rambo-crazy," the investigating magistrate said.

Too Scared



Of 50,000 Paris metro passengers polled as to what they would do were they to see somebody mugged, only 3 per cent, the Paris magazine Jeune Afrique notes, said they would risk going to the victim's aid. The remainder said they would get away from the scene or at best notify the police.

Striking a Blow for a New Chairman

At the Tel Aviv convention of the right-wing Herut party, the backbone of the Likud bloc, now in Israel's government coalition, a scuffle broke out between delegates when the issue arose of who was to be chairman now that Menachem Begin is gone: Ariel Sharon or Itzhak Shamir. Despite three days of fisticuffs no new chairman emerged and the convention ended in a deep rift in party membership.

Bitter Success

More than 100,000 F.R.G. citizens try to commit suicide each year. However, for each "successful" felo-de-se, the Brussels paper Le Soir reports, seven attempts end in failure.

Drawings by V. Trinchenko

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INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

1987

3rd exhibition "Equipment for Drugs Production and Control"
Moscow — January 14-22

2nd exhibition "Equipment for Studying Vibroacoustic Characteristics and the Strained State of Machine Parts"
Minsk — February 11-19

4th exhibition "Optical Instruments in the Service of Man"
Moscow — March 4-12

3rd exhibition "Equipment for Application of Anti-Rust Coatings"
Leningrad — March 11-19

"Municipal Facilities and Domestic Appliances"
Minsk — April 1-9

4th exhibition "Automobile Service and Maintenance Equipment"
Moscow — April 1-9

2nd exhibition "Ultrasonic Technology"
Vilnius — April 7-15

3rd exhibition "Equipment for the Bearing Industry"
Moscow — April 8-16

3rd exhibition "Equipment for Mechanization and Automation of Major and Auxiliary Operations in Nonferrous Metallurgy and Geological Prospecting"
Alma Ata — May 13-21

"Utilization of Natural Energy and Secondary Energy Resources in Agriculture"
Erevan — May 13-21

2nd exhibition "Techniques Used in the Manufacture of Building Materials and Structural Elements"
Moscow — May 27—June 5

4th exhibition "Industrial Robots"
Leningrad — July 1-9

4th exhibition "Electrotechnical Equipment and Power Transmission Lines"
Moscow — July 15-24

"Automation in Garment and Knitwear Manufacture"
Kiev — May 21-29

6th exhibition "Chemistry"
Moscow — September 10-19

3rd exhibition "Mechanization in Livestock and Fodder Production"
Riga — September 16-24

4th exhibition "Traffic Security Facilities"
Moscow — October 14-22

3rd exhibition "Equipment for the Oil and Gas Industry"
Moscow — October 20-28

"Research in Technological Mineralogy"
Leningrad — October 21-28

3rd exhibition "Equipment and Processes in Microbiological Production"
Moscow — November 25—December 3

At the request of companies, industrial associations and branch unions V/O Expocentr also organizes individual specialized exhibitions, symposia and seminars, days of economics and technology both in Moscow and in other cities of the Soviet Union.

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